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THE DICKENSIAN

CONTENTS

DICKENS AND THE TWO TENNYSONS
Wm. J. Carlton

A LAWYER'S BLACK BOXES
T. W. Hill

ANNUAL CONFERENCE AT CHELTENHAM

"IMMORTAL MEMORY"
John Moore

MY FAVOURITE MEN CHARACTERS
Amelia Postlethwaite

TWO EARLY HOMES OF DICKENS
The Editor

RING UP *THE CHIMES*
Malcolm Morley

POE AND DICKENS
Leo Mason

AND OTHER ARTICLES

ILLUSTRATED

EDITED BY LESLIE C. STAPLES

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
When Found—The Editor	171
Dickens and the Two Tennysons—William J. Carlton	173
A New Portrait of Dickens ?	177
A Lawyer's Black Boxes—T. W. Hill	178
The Dickens House Endowment Fund	189
Annual Conference at Cheltenham	190
"Immortal Memory"—John Moore	192
My Favourite Men Characters—Amelia Postlethwaite	196
Two Early Homes of Charles Dickens—The Editor	198
Charles Dickens in the Witness Box—Nils Erik Enkvist	201
Ring Up *The Chimes*—Malcolm Morley	202
Poe and Dickens—Leo Mason	207
Notes on *Sketches by Boz*—T. W. Hill	210
Fanny Kelly—L.C.S.	219
Michael Sadleir's Bibliography—F.S.B.	220
The Dickens Fellowship	220
Balance Sheets	222

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1836 . . . the dawn of an epoch. The Hanoverian Period, with its background of plot and intrigue, was drawing to a close; in London a girl who was to be Queen and Empress was still close-guarded at Kensington Palace. But the railway, herald of the industrial revolution, had already arrived and, in 1836, the Westminster Bank was founded to provide the banking service which the new era required and from that date onwards the Bank has continued to serve the needs of both industry and the individual.

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Little Nell's visit to the Racecourse
by Charles Green, R.I.

by courtesy of Messrs. Biddles Ltd., Guildford.

THE DICKENSIAN

AUTUMN NUMBER

VOL. XLVII. SEPTEMBER 1951 No. 300

WHEN FOUND—

June 9th. The eighty-first anniversary of the death of Charles Dickens was commemorated on the evening before June 9th, when a large party of members of the Dickens Fellowship, including several from overseas, gathered at Westminster Abbey. The Dean led the procession from the West Door and presided at the simple ceremony, at which, in the name of the Fellowship, Mrs. Elaine Waley, laid a chaplet of scarlet geraniums and laurel on her grandfather's grave.

* * * * *

Vice-Presidents. Two new Vice-Presidents of the Dickens Fellowship were elected at the Conference at Cheltenham: the distinguished actors, Mr. Felix Aylmer and Mr. Emlyn Williams. Mr. Aylmer is an old friend of the Fellowship, and his original researches into the solution of *The Mystery of Edwin Drood* have appeared in these pages. He spoke on Dickens and the stage at the Birthday Dinner in 1949, and his latest study of *Edwin Drood*, embodied in the Fellowship's dramatic production this year, will be familiar from our reports in our last number. Mr. Emlyn Williams, distinguished both as playwright and actor, has revealed his enthusiasm for Dickens, as also reported in our last issue. As we go to press we eagerly anticipate another opportunity to witness at Cambridge his brilliant impersonation of Dickens at the Reading Desk.

* * * * *

Charles Green, R.I. Most Dickensians are familiar with the beautiful picture of the meeting of the Pickwick Club by Charles Green, R.I., the original of which is at the Dickens House, the gift of the late Count de Suzannet. We are fortunate to be able to present, as the frontispiece to this number, another of the delightful works of that artist, "Little Nell's Visit to the Racecourse," a large picture like that at Doughty Street. It is at present in the possession of Messrs. Biddles Ltd., Art Dealers, of Guildford, to whom we express our thanks for their kindness in allowing us to reproduce it. It was first exhibited at The Royal Institute of Painters in Water-colours in 1885, afterwards in Boston, Mass., in the same year, in Chicago in 1893, at the Victorian Era Exhibition in London, in 1897, and this year at Farnham and Camberley, where it has attracted considerable attention.

* * * * *

Wilkie Collins. On May 22nd, Mr. Michael Sadleir, the eminent biographer and bibliographer, unveiled a commemorative tablet affixed by the London County Council to No. 65 (formerly 90) Gloucester Place, in honour of Wilkie Collins, the novelist and great friend of Charles Dickens. Collins was born, lived most of his life, and died in the Borough of St. Marylebone. He lived in this house from 1865 until a few years before his death, in 1889, at 82 Wimpole Street, a house that has long since disappeared.

* * * * *

Hardy and Dickens. Sir Newman Flower, who for many years presided over the great publishing house of Cassell, has recently published a book of reminiscences *Just As It Happened*. In it he writes that Hardy once told him that when he was studying

architecture in London, he fed at a little coffee-shop near where Charing Cross station now stands. Dickens went there, too. "Once," said Hardy, "I went up and stood at the vacant place beside the stool on which Dickens was sitting. I had eaten my lunch, but I was quite prepared to eat another if the occasion would make Dickens speak to me. I hoped he would look up, glance at this strange young man beside him and make a remark—if it was only about the weather. But he did nothing of the kind. He was fussing about his bill. So I never spoke to him."

* * * * *

Dickens's telescope. We had the privilege recently of handling Dickens's telescope. When compressed it fits neatly, with a folding stand, into a mahogany case and it bears the inscription that it was presented to the author by Charles Fechter. Accompanying it was a letter from Georgina Hogarth to Sir A. H. Layard, written after Dickens's death in 1870, asking his acceptance of this souvenir of his friend. In the course of this letter she wrote, "I reserved for you the telescope which used to stand in his writing room in the little chalet—you remember it? He spent his last conscious day there, and wrote his last line and I think you will be glad to keep something which stood near him." It remained in the possession of the Layard family until it passed to that of its present owner, Baron Lemmerman of Rome.

* * * * *

The Chalet. Reference to the chalet reminds us that a recent visit to it, the first since the war, revealed the fact that its external staircase has now been thoroughly repaired, so that visitors to the grounds of Cobham Park are now able to mount to the gallery and peep into Dickens's study with perfect safety.

* * * * *

Pageant at Rochester. Rochester was *en fête* for a week in June when a Dickens Pageant by Cyril Swinson was presented daily on the great lawns before Rochester Castle. For two hours and a half each day the vast greensward was alive with hundreds of people in the garb of Dickens's day. Fascinated audiences watched a kaleidoscope of promenading, dancing, riding, skating, drilling, duelling, cricket-playing, and electioneering, presented by armies of enthusiastic actors costumed in every imaginable hue. Of the many familiar characters who appeared before us, the Pickwickians were most prominent. We saw them caught between the lines of scarlet-coated soldiery, on the ice at Dingley Dell, on the hustings at Eatanswill, and in other episodes from *The Pickwick Papers*, as marshalled by Pageant-Master Cyril Swinson. On two occasions Dame Sybil Thorndike read the prologue, and on two others Mr. Bransby Williams. On the final Saturday afternoon the Pageant was opened by Admiral Sir Gerald Charles Dickens.

* * * * *

Plays at Rochester. On evenings when the great arena at Rochester was unoccupied by the Pageant, there were performances of two of Gladys Waterer's dramatic adaptations from Dickens. On two evenings the Rochester Branch of the Fellowship presented her *Nicholas Nickleby*, and on another there was a performance of her *David Copperfield* by almost the same company which played it at Broadstairs two years ago. They repeated it a few nights later at Piermont Gardens, Broadstairs. The latter performance was the only one of the four we were able to witness, but of that it would be difficult to speak too highly. It is one of the best amateur Dickens productions we have seen. The new, *al fresco*, performance had the added attraction of donkeys for the Dover scenes. Miss Waterer is now busily engaged upon *Martin Chuzzlewit*, for the annual Broadstairs Dickens Festival in October.

LESLIE C. STAPLES.

DICKENS AND THE TWO TENNYSONS

By William J. Carlton

THE bond of friendship and mutual esteem, extending over many years, which existed between those two eminent Victorians, Charles Dickens and Alfred Tennyson, has received adequate attention from their respective biographers. A circumstance which seems to have escaped notice, however, is that some years before he became acquainted with the poet, Dickens had been temporarily employed, through the intermediary of his own uncle, in the service of an uncle of Tennyson.

Dickens had just emerged from his 'teens when he joined the staff of the *Mirror of Parliament*, started in 1828 by John Henry Barrow, barrister-at-law of Gray's Inn, shorthand writer and miscellaneous author. Barrow's brother Edward and his brother-in-law John Dickens were already engaged on this ambitious venture, which had come to be recognised as an authoritative, if unofficial, record of the debates in parliament. Its weekly reports of the speeches in both Houses were often fuller and more accurate than those of *Hansard*, on the admission of T. C. Hansard himself.* Barrow's bold initiative was supported by many prominent politicians and legal luminaries, one of whom was the Rt. Hon. Charles Tennyson, M.P. for Stamford, with a town house in Park Street, Westminster, and a country seat in Lincolnshire. Tennyson had early identified himself with the movement for electoral reform, was a friend of Lord Durham, Lord John Russell and other Liberal statesmen, and had just been sworn a member of the Privy Council when young Dickens made his début on the *Mirror of Parliament* in the spring of 1832.

Like Barrow, Charles Tennyson had been called to the Bar but does not seem to have practised, and there is abundant evidence that the two men were well known to each other. Barrow had reported the trial of Queen Caroline for *The Times* in 1820, and this may have brought him to the notice of the politician, who was an active champion of the Queen's cause. With the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832 and his election as Privy Councillor, Tennyson's star was in the ascendant and he seemed a likely candidate for the Speaker's chair when, at the dissolution of parliament in December of that year, he contested one of the two seats allotted to the new and populous borough of Lambeth in the reformed House of Commons. The parish of St. Luke, West Norwood, in which Barrow was then living, formed a part of the new borough, and Dickens's uncle seems to have taken an active part in the election campaign which resulted in the return of the two Liberal candidates, Tennyson and Hawes, by a large majority. After the declaration of the poll on December 12th a motion proposing prosperity to the newly-elected members was seconded by Barrow.†

A few days before this Dickens had been approached by a journalistic colleague, H. G. Hartland, who hoped to obtain an engagement on the *Mirror*, and the young reporter replied on December 9th regretting that the application had not reached him earlier. "Had I even received your yesterday's note one day sooner I could have procured you a couple of days' employment at the Lambeth Election as a Poll Clerk at a salary of one guinea per day, having been commissioned by Mr. Tennyson to find no less than eighteen young men for that purpose. I regret to say, however, that the number was completed yesterday morning."‡ This letter was written from 15 Fitzroy Street, where Dickens was living with his parents at the time.

* *Report from the Select Committee on Parliamentary Reporting*, 1878, p. 22.
† George Hill, *Electoral History of the Borough of Lambeth*, 1879, p. 41.
‡ *Letters*, Nonesuch ed., Vol. I, p. 10.

Two years later the arbitrary act of William IV in dismissing the first Melbourne Ministry precipitated another general election, and again Tennyson and Hawes were returned for Lambeth by an overwhelming majority of votes. By this time Dickens was busily occupied as a full-time reporter for the *Morning Chronicle*, travelling up and down the country to furnish that influential daily newspaper with first-hand accounts of the proceedings at the provincial elections. The fortunes of the elder Dickens, however, were at a very low ebb. A month previously he had been arrested at the suit of Shaw & Maxwell, wine merchants at 16 Woburn Place, Russell Square, a predicament from which he was extricated only by the hurried intervention of Charles, who visited him at the sponging-house of the sheriff's officer, Abraham Slowman, in Cursitor Street, and arranged for his release. In a letter to Thomas Beard dated December 4th, 1834, Dickens père explained that the household was about to be broken up, Mrs. Dickens and daughters, with Alfred and Augustus, going into more economical apartments "somewhere in the vicinity of Fanny's engagements," Charles and Frederick into chambers, and "your humble servant 'to the winds'."* "The winds" proved to be a temporary lodging with Mrs. Davis, a laundress, at North End, Hampstead, whence John Dickens again wrote confidentially to Beard on December 16th, asking for the loan of £2 on the plea that "Alfred who is with me is walking to and from Hampstead daily in dancing pumps, and my soles from a similar cause require replacing." The loan was to be repaid on January 1st. Meanwhile, the rest of the family had found lodgings at 21 George Street, Adelphi, and from that address we find John Dickens writing to Beard on January 19th, 1835 :

> "I expect a check from Tennyson in a few days in return for my services for 17 devilish hard days' and nights' work, when I will return you with a thousand thanks the sovereigns I owe you, which the circumstance of my being called upon to attend his Election prevented my doing on the 1st, as I was obliged to use them to put myself in sailing trim. I much regretted that I could not avail myself of the opportunity of drinking your father's good health with him on his birthday, but I did it at the 'Elephant' with much sincerity."†

In spite of the "devilish hard work" which it entailed for him, the prototype of Wilkins Micawber must have welcomed the chance to earn a pound or two at this critical stage in his affairs. There can be little doubt that both he and Charles owed their engagement in the two election campaigns on Tennyson's behalf to John Henry Barrow, whose high regard for the Member for Lambeth may be gauged from the fact that his third son, christened at St. Luke's, Norwood, on March 12th, 1835, was named Charles Tennyson Barrow.

For twenty years Charles Tennyson sat in the House of Commons as Member for Lambeth, vigorously advocating such liberal measures as municipal reform, the abolition of slavery, the mitigation of military flogging, reform of the corn and navigation laws, reduction of sinecures and all taxes pressing on domestic comforts and on the springs of industry. That Dickens in the gallery reported for the *Mirror* some of Tennyson's speeches on these reforms so dear to his own heart can hardly be doubted, and they may well have influenced his views in this formative stage of his political development. On July 23rd, 1833, Tennyson had moved for leave to bring in a Bill to shorten the duration of parliaments, and on May 22nd, 1834, he was one of those who voted in favour of the motion for giving official sanction to the *Mirror of Parliament*, which only just failed to pass.‡

* *Dickens to his Oldest Friend*, ed. W. Dexter, 1932, p. 265.
† *Ibid.*, p. 267.
‡ *The Dickensian*, Vol. XLV, p. 150 (June 1949).

On the death of his father in 1835, Tennyson inherited the family seat of Bayons Manor, Market Rasen, and took the name of Charles Tennyson d'Eyncourt, as his father had wished him to do because, according to the College of Arms, the Tennysons represented the old Norman family of d'Eyncourt. The fact that his elder brother, the father of the Poet Laureate, had been passed over in his favour unhappily created an estrangement between the two branches of the family which clouded their subsequent relations. Charles was delighted to become the owner of Bayons, a place he had always loved. He investigated and recorded every detail of its history and set about altering and trying to improve the building, restoring original features and adding others until he succeeded in making it a really imposing structure. His talent as an architect was recognised when he was consulted, with Barry, about the building of the present Houses of Parliament.*

One of Charles Tennyson's closest friends, soon to become an equally close friend of Dickens, was Edward Bulwer, afterwards the first Lord Lytton. Returned to parliament as Member for Lincoln at the election of 1832, he sat for that constituency until his temporary retirement from political life in 1841. Apart from their parliamentary relations and political sympathies, the two men had much in common, including a taste for archaeology, genealogy and early English literature. Bulwer was a frequent visitor to Bayons Manor and there wrote his novel *Harold*, encouraged, it is said, by Tennyson to embody in the preface allusions to the historic, romantic atmosphere in which he worked.† It may yet transpire that Dickens derived from what he knew of the place some material for his description of Chesney Wold, the Lincolnshire home of Sir Leicester and Lady Dedlock.

On January 21st, 1836, the Prime Minister, Lord Melbourne, laid the foundation stone of the new Licensed Victuallers' School in Kennington Lane, Lambeth, among those taking a prominent part being the Rt. Hon. Charles Tennyson d'Eyncourt and Benjamin Hawes, the two local representatives in parliament. On the same day, little more than a month before the first pages of *Pickwick* were penned, Dickens wrote to his fiancée : " I have been ordered by the office to attend a Procession and ceremony at Lambeth this morning. I must leave here (Furnival's Inn) at 12 and do not expect to get back before 4."‡ More than a column of the next day's *Morning Chronicle* was occupied by his account of the proceedings and the speeches which followed. The large amphitheatre, we are told, was crowded with respectable people soon after 1-30. The open area in the centre was ornamented with scarlet drugget, and chairs were placed for the accommodation of the distinguished personages who had signified their intention of honouring the ceremony with their presence. In the centre was the stone, supported by ropes and pulleys. The building was ornamented with flags, and there was a plentiful sprinkling of smart bonnets and pretty faces. The procession, headed by the Prime Minister and the two M.Ps., arrived soon after 3.

Dickens's description of the stonelaying invites comparison with a similar ceremony which was witnessed by Martin Chezzlewit and Mark Tapley on their return from America, and is described in great detail in Chapter XXXV of *Martin Chuzzlewit*. The building to be erected from the designs of " the celebrated architect Mr. Pecksniff " was also a charity school, there was an imposing procession, and the stone in this case was laid by " our Member in the House of Commons, who is returned upon the Gentlemanly Interest." Then the ladies waved their

* Sir Eustace H. W. Tennyson d'Eyncourt, *A Shipbuilder's Yarn*, 1948, p. 21.
† *Life of Edward Bulwer, First Lord Lytton*, by his grandson the Earl of Lytton, 1913, Vol. I, p. 425.
‡ *Mr. and Mrs. Charles Dickens : His Letters to Her*, ed. W. Dexter, 1935, p. 55.

handkerchiefs, and the gentlemen their hats, and the charity children shrieked, and the member for the Gentlemanly Interest bowed.

Here is the concluding passage of Dickens's report of the Lambeth stonelaying :

> " We cannot close our account of this ceremony without noticing the high gratification which the appearance of the children manifestly afforded every person present, and bearing testimony to the excellence of this most valuable institution. The objects of the charity are the children of decayed Licensed Victuallers, who are clothed, fed and educated. There is no degrading dress—no charity livery to remind the children of their destitution, or their patrons of their munificence. Both girls and boys are as well and decently dressed as they would be were they receiving, from their own parents, the education which persons in their station of life usually receive ; and their decent looks, healthy appearance, and excellent demeanour, must excite in the breasts of the friends of the institution far more pleasurable feelings than the most ostentatious display could possibly awaken."

The reporter's approving reference to the absence of a charity livery will not escape the notice of those readers of *Dombey and Son* who recall the miseries endured by Biler Toodle (alias Rob the Grinder), the unhappy victim of Mr. Dombey's misplaced patronage. Nominated on the foundation of the Charitable Grinders, " where not only is a wholesome education bestowed upon the scholars, but where a dress and badge is likewise provided for them," his life was rendered dreary by the costume he was compelled to wear. This was a nice, warm, blue baize tailed coat and cap, turned up with orange-coloured binding ; red worsted stocking and very strong leather small-clothes. " The youth of the streets could not endure it. No young vagabond could be brought to bear its contemplation for a moment, without throwing himself upon the unoffending wearer, and doing him a mischief. His social existence had been more like that of an early Christian, than an innocent child of the nineteenth century. He had been stoned in the streets. He had been overthrown into gutters ; bespattered with mud ; violently flattened against posts. Entire strangers to his person had lifted his yellow cap off his head and cast it to the winds. His legs had not only undergone verbal criticisms and revilings, but had been handled and pinched."

After the stonelaying ceremony, Tennyson d'Eyncourt presided at a dinner offered to friends of the Licensed Victuallers' School at the Horns Tavern, Kennington, which still stands where it did, and his speech (perhaps taken down by Dickens) was printed with others in the *Morning Chronicle*.

Nearly five years later John Henry Barrow successfully applied for the post of Secretary of the Anglo-Portuguese Commission, set up to examine and report upon the claims of British subjects who served in the Portuguese army and navy during the war of liberation in Portugal. His candidature was warmly backed by the Member for Lambeth, who in a letter dated November 30th, 1840, testified to the very high opinion he entertained of Mr. Barrow as " a gentleman of great accomplishment and distinguished talent eminently qualified for any official station by his habits of business, his extensive knowledge, his intimate acquaintance with public affairs, his remarkable perseverance and power in concentrating and abstracting official documents in which his experience is beyond that of any other man I know, as well as by his readiness and facility in all matters requiring prompt action and dispatch." To these qualifications he added " those which arise from conciliatory manners, and admirable temper, combined with firmness and steadiness of purpose."*

If Tennyson d'Eyncourt's political views commended themselves to Dickens, the same could hardly be said for his taste in poetry. Himself

* P.R.O. F.O. 63/516.

something of a versifier, d'Eyncourt thought his nephew Alfred's style "affected and lame."* As early as 1842, however, the latter's poems had become favourite reading with Dickens, who was fond of quoting them in his speeches. From Broadstairs he wrote to Forster on August 7th : "I have been reading Tennyson all this morning on the seashore." When the collected poems were published in the following year, the novelist despatched a set of his works to Alfred Tennyson with a note which read : "For the love I bear you as a man whose writings enlist my whole heart and nature in admiration of their Truth and Beauty, set these books upon your shelves ; believing that you have no more earnest and sincere homage than mine." Tennyson returned the compliment by presenting Dickens with a two-volume edition of his works, which the novelist sent in turn to Christiana Weller in 1844. "I have been reading Tennyson again and again," he had written to Forster from Italy not long before. "What a great creature he is!"

In the early 'forties the poet was a frequent guest at the house of Dickens, who even invited him to share his home in Switzerland during the summer he spent there. Just as Dickens's uncle Barrow had bestowed the name of Charles Tennyson on one of his sons, the novelist christened his fourth boy Alfred d'Orsay Tennyson Dickens in compliment to his godfathers, of whom Alfred Tennyson was one.

Both Alfred Tennyson (now Poet Laureate) and his uncle, the Rt. Hon. Charles Tennyson d'Eyncourt, acted as stewards at the farewell banquet offered to Macready on his quitting the stage, on March 1st, 1851, when the chair was taken by Bulwer Lytton and Dickens made the speech of the evening. The last recorded meeting between Dickens and the Laureate seems to have been in June 1851, when Tennyson attended the *Copperfield* dinner at the Star and Garter, Richmond. Although the ways of the two men fell apart in later years, Dickens never faltered in his allegiance to Tennyson, according to Forster, who quotes from a letter of 1859 : "How fine the *Idylls* are! Lord! what a blessed thing it is to read a man who can really write. I thought nothing could be finer than the first poem, till I came to the third ; but when I had read the last, it seemed to me absolutely unapproachable."

* *Alfred Tennyson*, by his grandson Charles Tennyson, 1950, p. 141.

A NEW PORTRAIT OF DICKENS?

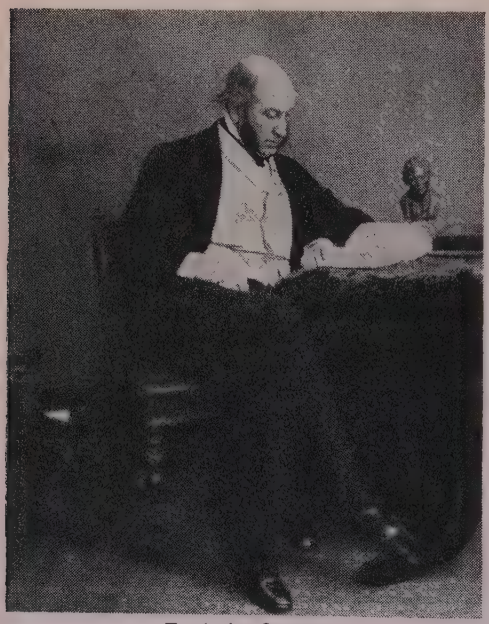
In an elaborate new work on *Miniatures in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Batsford, 3 gns.), the author, the Hon. Donough O'Brien, reproduces a miniature on ivory by Sir Wm. Ross, R.A., which he says is believed to be of Charles Dickens and painted about 1845. No one familiar with the authenticated portraits of Dickens could mistake this miniature for a portrait of the novelist. The book provides no evidence in support of the statement and we have no knowledge of Dickens's acquaintance with the artist, although it has been stated, without published authority, that Sir William was the brother of Janet Ross, the miniaturist, who is believed to have married Edward Barrow, the novelist's uncle. (See *The Dickensian*, 1949, p. 181.)

EDITOR.

A LAWYER'S BLACK BOXES: LIGHT ON THE GUILD OF LITERATURE AND ART AND THE DOUGLAS JERROLD FUND

By T. W. Hill

A FEW years ago the firm of Messrs. Farrer, Ouvry and Farrer, Solicitors, of 66 Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, decided to dispose of some of their obsolete records and papers, accumulated during many years, and a portion came into the posession of the late Mr. Charles J. Sawyer, whom Dickensians will remember as an ardent collector-bookseller. One Parcel of these old legal papers is connected with the affairs of the now extinct Guild of Literature and Art, and another with the Fund established " In Remembrance of the late Mr. Douglas Jerrold," and thanks to the kindness of Mr. Stanley Sawyer, son of Charles J. Sawyer, I have enjoyed the privilege of rummaging through these bundles of documents.



Frederic Ouvry

by courtesy of Mr. Norman D. Ouvry and Mr. K. J. Fielding.

The experience has been highly interesting. Readers of *Bleak House* must often have wondered what secrets were hidden in the old oyster Mr. Tulkinghorn's " many boxes labelled with transcendental names," and anyone entering the office of a busy solicitor must have been impressed by the array of black enamelled locked tin boxes and the neatly folded and docketted papers tied up with red tape (often faded to a dull yellow with age) reposing in piles on tables, desks and shelves, some of the documents dirty with age and nearly black from the amount of dirt rubbed into, instead of off, them by the industry of successive generations of dusters, material and human.

Frederic Ouvry, Dickens's own legal adviser, was a solicitor and a partner in the firm already named. He first became acquainted with Dickens before 1854, as in that year, I see by these papers that he was the Hon. Solicitor to the newly-formed Guild of Literature and Art. Early in 1856 he acted as Dickens's adviser in the purchase of Gad's Hill Place and in 1857 he was legal adviser to the Trustees of the Jerrold Memorial Fund—to give it a short convenient name. In 1854 Dickens was addressing his letters to " My dear Sir," but the acquaintance soon ripened into warm friendship and by 1859 the form became " My dear Ouvry " and their close association lasted till Dickens's death in 1870,

when Ouvry, who was also Forster's legal adviser, continued to act till the end of the existence of the Guild and to the transfer of the Jerrold Memorial Fund to the Court of Chancery. Ouvry, besides being a highly-respected lawyer and solicitor to Coutts's, was a man of some distinction in the learned world ; he was elected to the Athenaeum, of which Dickens and Forster were already members, in 1858, became a member of the committee and later held office as a Trustee till his death in 1880. He was also a treasurer and afterwards President of the Society of Antiquaries. Ouvry was a good club-man, and Dickens poked a little quiet fun at him by giving him the Garden Room in the *Haunted House* (1859), bestowing on him the name of " Mr. Undery " and crediting him with playing whist " Better than the whole Law List."

The portion of Ouvry papers through which I have been browsing covers the sphere of Dickens's charitable activities mentioned above. I have, as one would expect, come across many interesting holograph letters, including some from people whom Dickensian students will recognise, and I mention particularly some from Dickens himself on his familiar blue paper and in his familiar blue ink, and I notice that some of the letter-paper of *All the Year Round* was tinted the same pale blue as his own note-paper from Gad's Hill Place ; some from Charles Dickens the Younger—a beautiful script ; some in John Forster's spidery scrawl, very difficult to read, apparently careless and hurried and often nearly illegible ; W. H. Wills's pointed, neat hand-writing ; Ouvry's own characteristic and distinct memoranda ; Blanchard Jerrold's undistinguished thin script written apparently with a pin instead of a pen ; Hepworth Dixon's hieroglyphics ; Miss Mary Jerrold's sprawling pointed Victorian Italian script in which every letter is carefully formed but which is so spread out that two or three words occupy a whole line, she sometimes signs herself " Polly Jerrold " ; and one from Lord Lytton when he was nearly seventy years of age and suffering from the illness that caused his death a few years later, with ill-formed letters and words, evidently the letter of a very sick man. I found also a couple of envelopes on the flap of which is embossed the device of *All the Year Round*, and I cannot help wondering where the die is now.

There are, besides these curiosities, original Agreements on parchments with original signatures and government stamps, drafts and printed proofs of others. Bills and Acts of Parliament. Indeed, the variety of documents is reminiscent of the contents of Arthur Gride's deed-box turned out by Squeers in Chapter LVII of *Nicholas Nickleby*— " an old lease . . . overdue acceptances and renewed bills . . . bond of a curate to pay half a year's wages of £40 for borrowing twenty . . . warrant of attorney . . . two cognovits . . . lease and release," making allowance of course in comparing the character of a shady person like Gride with the utmost rectitude of a Tulkinghorn or an Ouvry, and also bearing in mind that these papers represent the Ouvry side of all the matters with which they deal.

II

A few words are necessary to introduce my finds in connexion with the Guild of Literature and Art. The history of this institution was given in *The Dickensian* for 1918 by W. Glyde Wilkins, but only in a general way that was doubtless quite sufficient for the general reader of thirty years ago. The modern student is anxious for more and more detail of everything connected with Dickens's work and life, and here I find much that will add to our knowledge.

Dickens himself, in an article in *Household Words*, Vol. III, No. 59, May 10th, 1851, outlined his rather ambitious hopes of what the new

institution would accomplish in assisting authors and artists in temporary difficulties, and alludes to the "company of amateur actors," recalling that it was able "to yield timely assistance to three distinguished literary men* all of whom Her Majesty has since placed on the Pension List," and stating also that the little band of strolling players is "about to renew its exertions for the cause we have set forth."

We know how the idea for the Guild occurred to Dickens during some amateur theatricals at Knebworth in November 1850, how he enlisted Lytton's cordial sympathy and active co-operation in the writing of a new play to raise money, and also promising to give two acres of his estate for the erection of houses ; the draft of the conditions on which the gift was accepted is among these papers.

Having embarked upon his new scheme Dickens, with his usual boundless energy, rallied all his friends to his support, not only his personal intimates and relatives, but also his colleagues from the Shakespeare Club, the amateur actors and his journalistic and literary associates, imbued them with his infectious enthusiasm and got them to join in his new project. And in these bundles of Ouvry's papers I find two precious little pamphlets printed for public distribution and appeal. One, issued in 1853, shews the remarkable progress in two years. Let me quote from his list of officers : President, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, Bart. ; Vice-President, Charles Dickens ; Trustees, Duke of Devonshire, Sir Charles Eastlake, P.R.A., and (Sir) A. H. Layard ; Treasurer, Charles Knight ; Hon. Secretary, W. H. Wills ; Hon. Solicitor, Frederic Ouvry ; Hon. Physician, Dr. Elliston ; and the Council of twenty-seven includes the names of G. A. à Becket, Robert Bell, Wilkie Collins, Mark Lemon, Mayor of Liverpool, Prof. (Sir) Richard Owen, F.R.S., Clarkson Stanfield, R.A., Frank Stone, A.R.A., W. Telbin, Sir J. Tennent, (Sir) J. Tenniel and F. W. Topham—a strong team indeed. The pamplet also gives the list of subscribers among whom I note that the Queen and Prince Consort gave £150, G. Tomline £100, Hon. Richard Watson £10, Charles Dickens £52 10*s.*, while Lytton, besides writing the play "Not So Bad As We Seem" gave up all his copyright fees £550, while the proceeds of Twenty-three performances in London and the Provinces came to £3,065 11*s.* 11*d.*† net. The result of all this effort was that the Balance Sheet in the little pamphlet shews a sum of £3,790 16*s.* 11*d.* in hand.

Another edition of the little pamphlet was issued in 1863, with a list of the members (49 of them), including the Council now increased to 33, and among the new names I note Sidney Blanchard, Shirley Brooks, Robert Chambers, H. F. Chorley, Charles Collins, J. Hollingshead, Blanchard Jerrold, Henry Morley, John Oxenford, James Payn, Charles Reade, (Sir) J. R. Robinson, Tom Taylor, Moy Thomas, Walter

* These were Leigh Hunt and John Poole in 1847 and Sheridan Knowles in 1848. It may be added that Dickens's company had acted in aid of the Sanatorium (Dr. Southwood Smith's Nursing Home in Devonshire Terrace) in 1845 and gave a "benefit" performance for Fanny Kelly in 1846.

† Appreciation of the efforts of the amateur company is increased by noting the amount of travelling the members, who for the most part paid their own expenses, undertook and the personal inconvenience they must have often undergone for the performances :

1851	May	16	London, Devonshire House	(Tickets £5 each)	
		27	,, ,,	,,	£2/2/-
	June	18	,, Hanover Square Rooms	,,	10/-
	July	2	,, ,,	,,	10/-
		21	,, ,,	,,	10/-
	Aug.	4	,, ,,	,,	10/-
	Nov. and Dec.		at Bath, Bristol (twice), and Reading.		
1852	February		at Manchester and Liverpool (twice).		
	May		at Shrewsbury and Birmingham.		
	August		at Nottingham, Derby, Newcastle, Sunderland and Sheffield.		
	September		at Manchester and Liverpool.		

In addition to these twenty-two performances, Dickens paid a flying visit to Manchester in July 1851 to recite *A Christmas Carol*.

Thornbury, Beajamin Webster, and Edmund Yates. The list of donations also includes friends of Dickens among the new names : Sir C. W. Dilke, Henry Hallam, Sir Wm. Hamilton, Mayor of Liverpool, Harriet Martineau, Horace Mayhew, Charles Moxon, W. B. Procter and Samuel Rogers. It is very evident that the friendship of Dickens carried certain loyalties. This later pamphlet reveals that the profits (net) on " Not So Bad As We Seem " had risen to £3,334 14*s.* 8*d.* and that donations now totalled £635 15*s.* ; altogether the Funds of the Guild were in a sound financial position.

The full story of the Guild has never been told and the Minute Books from June 1856 to April 1898, as well as the Secretary's own Minute Book from 1854 to 1867 were sold by auction in 1918 and are believed to be in America, where also the Council Attendance Book from 1854 to 1896 has gone. Mr. Ouvry's papers do, however, shed some light on the subject. For instance, the Bye-Laws were drafted by counsel, Mr. W. Tidd Pratt (was he any relation to the celebrated Tidd of *Tidd's Practice*, beloved of Uriah Heep ?) for a fee of £7 7*s.* I find also that when the Council found early in their existence that they could not, without being incorporated, hold the Stevenage Property given to the Guild by Lytton, they decided in 1854 to procure an Act of Parliament to secure incorporation, and here in this bundle are the original drafts of the necessary public notices and of the Bill prepared by the Parliamentary Agents, Dyson & Co. (whose fee of £10 3*s.* 6*d.* seems very reasonable) and the Bill as amended in Committee of the House of Commons. There is also a holograph letter from Wills acknowledging the receipt of a caution from the careful Ouvry about attacks on the Royal Literary Fund*—a now forgotten episode. I find also draft documents shewing that the legal transfer from Lytton to the Guild was not effected till 1863.

But I must go back a little. In 1858 the Council received an offer from a Peter Allan Fraser of Arbroath to present to the Guild ten acres of land and a house near Coventry, but it was found that a fresh Act of Parliament would be required to enable them to accept this munificent gift which the Ouvry papers shew was worth about £400 a year. The draft documents respecting the proposed approach to Parliament make interesting reading ; I cannot find how the affair developed, but I assume from the lack of evidence that the project was dropped as there is no evidence that any Act was passed, or that when the Guild was finally dissolved any other Act than that of 1854 was repealed. But I do find in the little pamphlet of 1863 that Mr. Fraser's name appears in the list of donations as giving a sum of £50, and that in 1861 a printed appeal was issued to members to obtain more support for the Guild by enrolling new members in order to increase revenue.

When the Guild had got its Act for incorporation in 1854 the Council found that its activities were cramped by the discovery that under the Act they could not grant pensions till 1861, and original letters I find in Ouvry's papers shew that a year later they were advised by counsel, Charles Wordsworth, that, contrary to Wills's opinion (and probably Dickens's as well) no pensions could be granted *except with residency*. This was a further blow as the houses were not yet finished. They were not indeed ready for occupation till 1865, when they were inspected by a party of members, and at the dinner to which on that occasion they were entertained by Lytton. Dickens was still quite sanguine as to the outcome of their beneficient purpose.

* A matter that is now practically forgotten, this refers to Dickens's known criticms of the Royal Literary Fund, particularly with regard to the cost of its administration, which he considered extravagantly high in proportion to the amounts of its grants to applicants. He commissioned Morley to write an article on the subject that appeared in *Household Words* on March 8th, 1856, a few days before the Annual Meeting of the Fund on March 12th, when he attended and made a vigorous speech. As late as April 1859 he refused, in a letter, to comment on a suggested grant from the Fund " as I am variance with the Committee on other points."

But, alas . . . in spite of all the thought and hard work that Dickens and his friends had undertaken, the Guild did not come up to expectations, as can be seen from Glyde Wilkins's article in *The Dickensian*, 1918, already alluded to, and in 1869, in the midst of all his own personal worries, coupled with his breakdown in health, his preoccupation with his last book, and the preparations for the final series of his Public Readings, came the loss through illness of the invaluable services of Wills,* who had to give up the sub-editorship of *All the Year Round* and the Honorary Secretaryship of the Guild. Dickens, disappointed no doubt at the failure of his hopes, was thinking of winding up the Guild and transferring the purposes for which it was founded to some other public body. An inspection of the missing Minute Books would be most helpful in filling the gaps in our knowledge, but I do find from Ouvry's papers that Dickens wrote to Wills on the subject of the proposed winding up, and there is a copy in Dickens's own hand of a letter he had received from Lord Redesdale referring to Lytton's legal position if the Guild houses were sold under the conditions of a winding up. There is also a copy of a letter from Wills, who did not entirely drop his interest in the Guild, to E. M. Ward, R.A., who had expressed a desire to purchase the Guild Houses, and also Ward's holograph letter agreeing to pay £1,680 for them. This was certainly a bargain for him as it was considerably less than the prime cost of erecting the houses, some details of which were communicated to him :

1. The freehold had been presented by Lytton.
2. The architect made no charge for his services.
3. Labour and materials cost £2,300.

I find also a holograph letter from Charles Dickens, Junior, to Ouvry, dated November 15th, 1869, enclosing this correspondence, with the " consent of the Council (as whose Hon. Secretary I am now acting, vice Wills resigned)." There is a sheet of paper with four Resolutions for the Council in connexion with the proposed winding up :

1. Suggests the repeal of the 1854 Act and the sale of the houses.
2. Safeguards the interests of three pensioners, viz. Mrs. Cattermole, Mr. Heraud, and Mr. Warren, if the scheme goes through.
3. Fixes the amount of future annuities of the forenamed.
4. Instructs the Hon. Sol. (Mr. Ouvry) to take the necessary action.

Each of the resolutions has remarks against it in the handwriting of Charles Dickens, who must have been in the Chair at the meeting. There is no date on the sheet, but it was by inference 1869.

I cannot find anything more for some months ; Dickens died in June 1870, and then the matter seems to have hung fire till November, when I come across drafts of documents and of an advertisement in the *London Gazette* that the Guild has decided to apply to Parliament for the repeal of the Act of Incorporation of 1854 and the Dissolution of the Guild. There is no mention of any further Act of the 1858 period in connexion with the Fraser gift in that year. Particularly interesting is the original letter of December 14th from Wills to Charles Dickens the Younger correcting an error in the Bill and asking that a proof be sent to Lord Lytton. This drew from Lord Lytton, who was at the time 66 years of age and undergoing a " cure " at Bath, a very badly-written letter, recently presented to the Dickens House, to Charles Dickens the Younger, saying : " . . . I cannot but regard the actual lodgment of a bill . . . as a signal discourtesy . . . seeing that . . . I was commissioned by Mr. Wills to confer with Lord Redesdale on the subject . . . I can accept no proposals to amend in Committee a bill which I have so much reason to disapprove. I have no option but to oppose it altogether

* In July 1869 Charles Dickens the Younger was appointed sub-editor of *All the Year Round* in succession to Wills and also became Hon. Secretary of the Guild of Literature and Art.

in limine, and, as I take it for granted that the council cannot think of exposing either the Guild or myself to unnecessary expense and trouble, I trust they will instruct Mr. Ouvry at once to withdraw the Bill . . . " To this Charles Dickens the Younger must have replied attempting to reassure Lord Lytton, but the whereabouts of the letter is not known, but among the Ouvry papers there is a letter from Lord Lytton, again from Bath and dated December 30th and more strongly worded : " . . . I can be satisfied with nothing but the immediate withdrawal of the Bill and I think it very hard that I should have been already put to trouble and expense by so ungenerous a return for my donations to the Guild. Hoping that the next communication will announce the termination of this very unpleasant business . . . "

I find also a letter, dated December 29th, from Ed. Lambert (counsel) suggesting that the Bill be withdrawn this session to afford " ample time for discussing how his Lordship's interests are to be protected."

Again there is a blank in the record as the next dated document is of 1876, but I conclude that the pensions had been continued in the interval, during which Charles Dickens, Junior, had ceased to be Hon. Secretary and become a Trustee, and G. Holsworth had replaced him in the former office. The two Guild houses, known as " No 1, Guild Institute " and " No. 2, Guild Institute " were let at rentals of £30 and £40 respectively, so it would appear that the sale to E. M. Ward in 1869 was never completed. One of the prospective tenants made a condition of purchase that the inscription over the portico should be obliterated.

Twenty years elapse before the next document, and I cannot help thinking that some of Ouvry's papers of that period may not have reached Mr. Sawyer, and may perhaps turn up in the future in some other collection. Anyway the next papers of interest are dated 1896. In July of that year the Younger Dickens died, and these papers shew that the surviving Trustees, probably tiring of the whole business, decided to call a meeting of the remaining members, of whom there were now only ten. The full list is :

Sir J. R. Robinson
Frederick Clifford, Q.C. } Trustees
Sir J. Tenniel
Percy FitzGerald
B. H. Becker
Miss Hogarth
J. Payn
J. Hollingshead
W. Moy Thomas
Miss Heraud (? daughter of S. Heraud, a former pensioner of the Guild and an erstwhile contributor to *Household Words*).

The copy of their petition to the House of Commons sets out in full the scheme for the dissolution of the Guild and follows closely the Resolutions of 1869 quoted above, as do the copies of the draft Bill. Other documents germane to the scheme are here, including a copy of the draft report by the Attorney-General on the Bill and a copy with Lord Morley's remarks in the margin when it came before the House of Lords, shewing how carefully even in the case of minor legislation and private bills, such matters are considered. The Bill became, in due course, an Act of Parliament in 1897, a copy of it is preserved here, by which the Guild of Literature and Art is dissolved and its landed property and its investments amounting to £2,112 16*s*. in 2¾ per cent. Consols transferred in equal shares to the Royal Literary Fund and the Artists' General Benevolent Institution.

III.

Now let me tell what I have found among Ouvry's papers relative to the Jerrold Memorial Fund. A few sentences of preliminary explanation are necessary. Jerrold died on Monday, June 8th, 1857, and on Wednesday, June 10th, Dickens, who was profoundly moved and shocked at the unexpected death of his friend, after only a few days' illness, wrote to Forster : " . . . I immediately went up there [Jerrold's home at St. John's Wood] and then to Whitefriars [the office of *Lloyd's Weekly News*] . . . my confident hope is that we shall get close upon two thousand pounds." In the two days' interval Dickens must have concentrated his mind upon his project, as he had formulated the complete scheme of his beneficent intentions. It comprised performances of two of Jerrold's plays, lectures by Thackeray and W. H. Russell, recitals by himself of *A Christmas Carol* and subscription performances of *The Frozen Deep*. These Ouvry papers shew that he carried out the programme in full, and more.

On the following day, according to a letter (of which there is no copy in the Ouvry papers)* to the *Morning Chronicle* of October 12th, 1857, that is after the Fund was closed, Dickens sent a representative (can it have been W. H. Wills ?) to call upon Blanchard Jerrold to enquire whether he would consent to the " In Remembrance " performances, to which he, if he were given previous knowledge of the various events, did agree.

In three recent biographies of Dickens there are references to this Fund. (*a*) Dame Una Pope-Hennessy : " One gathers from the Jerrold side that this was not altogether a welcome intervention " ; (*b*) Hesketh Pearson : " Whether they knew it or not, he [Dickens] decided that the Jerrold family had been left in straitened circumstances . . . Two thousand pounds being handed over to the widow and unmarried daughter of Douglas Jerrold, whether they liked it or not ; but they probably did "—a statement that, apart from its two unnecessary innuendos is not strictly true ; and (*c*) Jack Lindsay : " The Jerrolds were not at all pleased at being made so prominent a charity cause."

These opinions appear to have been founded on a paragraph in Shelton Mackenzie's *Life of Dickens* published in America two months after the novelist's death in 1870, quoting a comment by Jerrold's eldest son, William Blanchard Jerrold, after the Memorial Fund had been closed and the proceeds allotted to their specific purpose, to which Dr. Mackenzie adds a note that *The Critic*, a London magazine, remarked that it was " rather late in the day to take this course."

My inspection of the Ouvry papers does not reveal any unwillingness or displeasure on the part of the beneficiaries to receive the proceeds of the well-meant charitable efforts of Dickens, his friends, and the subscribing public. The correspondence columns of *The Times*, *Lloyd's Weekly News* and the *Morning Chronicle* (already cited) of September and October reveal the fact that Blanchard Jerrold professed himself much disturbed about Dickens's desire to help Mrs. Jerrold and her unmarried daughter, and raised difficulties at every opportunity. This however does not appear from particulars I have gleaned from the Ouvry papers. Dissensions and unpleasantnesses within the Jerrold family there may have been—I do not know—but there is no evidence of any reluctance on their part to benefit from the tribute of admirers of their distinguished father. They did indeed begin at once to consider among themselves, as will be seen presently, how *they* thought the proceeds should be divided.

But first I will give a summarised Balance Sheet of the Fund which I find here, properly audited and signed. It is well worth preservation.

* For an inspection of this and other copies of letters I am indebted to Mr. K. J. Fielding.

Receipts.	£	s.	d.
3 recitals of *The Carol*	651	14	2
Lectures by Thackeray and Russell*	179	18	0
Concert	81	1	0
7 performances of *Frozen Deep* (4 in London and 3 in Manchester)	2,137	1	6
Performance at Haymarket, July 15†	123	12	6
Performance at Adelphi, July 29‡	134	4	0
Donations	200	10	5
Total Receipts	£3,508	1	7

Expenses			
Printing, advertising, stage expenses, band, hotels and travelling expenses of professional ladies	1,479	18	7
Net Proceeds	£2,028	3	0

Appended to the balance sheet is a note by the auditors to the effect that at Manchester Dickens bore his own hotel expenses, and also lent, free of charge, the scenery he had used at Tavistock House, as well as the costumes that had cost him £50 ; and that the cloth used for scenery had been lent free of charge by the Art Exhibition at Manchester.

The members of the Jerrold family met and on July 9th drew up a Deed of Arrangement between the widow and her children, who are named :

William Blanchard Jerrold.
Douglas Edmund Jerrold (who was abroad and for whom Blanchard acted under a power of attorney).
Thomas Serle Jerrold.
Jane Matilda, married to Henry Mayhew (author of *London Life and the London Poor*).
Mary Anne Jerrold, unmarried daughter (known in the family as "Polly").
Mary Anne Jerrold, widow ;

and the two executors under the Letters of Administration, as Douglas Jerrold has died intestate. The widow was to receive an annuity from the estate, to retain certain personal effects, books, etc., and any residue of personal estate invested and to be applied at the discretion of the Trustees ; all the parties agreed to assign to the Trustees their shares of money received during the widow's life "from any public or private subscription, donation, theatrical performance, benefit, concert, exhibition, lecture, and entertainment, or other means of raising money." I cannot see that there is, in that phrase in the Deed drawn up before the first theatrical performance, any foundation for the statements of the biographers I have quoted.

Very interesting also is the Original Minutes of the meeting of the

* Both of these two lectures were delivered at St. Martin's Hall. W. H. Russell on July 7th gave his "Narrative of the Campaign in the Crimea," and Thackeray on July 22nd called his lecture "Week-day Preachers" ; it was mainly the same as an oration on "Humour and Charity," which he had written in 1853 specially for use on charitable occasions ; it concludes with a generous appreciation of Dickens. As Thackeray ascended the platform to deliver his lecture the large audience "cheered with an enthusiasm that shewed a strong desire to administer consolation for the result of the Oxford (Parliamentary) Election on the previous day when Thackeray was defeated by Cardwell by 67 votes."

† Two of Jerrold's plays were given : *The Housekeeper*, with Buckstone, Webster, Howe and Farren, and *The Prisoner of War*, with Phelps, Howe, Farren and the Keeleys. An "occasional address," written by Samuel Lucas, was spoken by Phelps.

‡ Two of Jerrold's plays were given : *The Rent Day*, with Webster, Paul Bedford, Mrs. Keeley and Mme Celeste and *Black-Eyed Susan*, with T. P. Cooke. An address, written by Tom Taylor, was spoken by Albert Smith.

Jerrold Memorial Fund Committee. It is undated but was evidently held immediately after the Fund was closed in August, 1857, and with the well-known signature of Dickens, flourish and all. Those present were :

Charles Dickens, Chairman
Mark Lemon
Shirley Brooks
Edward Lloyd
Wilkie Collins
John Forster
W. H. Wills
D. Maclise
Arthur Smith, Hon. Sec.

It was resolved that the profit of not less than £2,000 was to be invested for " an annuity to Mrs. Jerrold and her unmarried daughter with remainder to the survivor." Trustees for the Fund were appointed, viz. Charles Dickens, John Forster and Arthur Smith.

The £2,000 was invested in Midland Railway Rent Charge Stock.

On September 2nd, 1857, Dickens as chairman and Arthur Smith as secretary issued to the public, in a letter to *The Times*, a joint final statement of the result of their labours, but this is not represented among the Ouvry papers. It was this statement that led to the newspaper correspondence already referred to, and it may be added that Hans Andersen who had been in England at the time, wrote to a friend saying that he thought the poor thanks of the Jerrolds was ungrateful. Now I must go back to the Ouvry papers.

Apparently all went well till May 6th, 1859, when Mrs. Jerrold died, soon after which event a Margate solicitor acting for Miss Jerrold, wrote to Dickens on May 21st asking for particulars about the Trust and asserting Miss Jerrold's right to the whole interest on the investment. Dickens sent it on May 26th to Ouvry, and here is the holograph letter, and he says the " Trustees see no objection," but he " does not want to enter into communication with the solicitor or anybody else." Ouvry evidently was not quite satisfied and asked questions as here is another letter in Dickens's own writing dated May 28th, " No representations were made to the subscribers. Nothing but ' In Remembrance of the late Mr. Douglas Jerrold.' The money was handed to three Trustees, myself, Forster, and Arthur Smith to invest . . . No deed was ever executed or thought of." Ouvry promptly sent all the correspondence to a barrister, Arthur Hobhouse, for counsel's opinion, which is given on a turned-up corner of Ouvry's letter advising reference to the terms of the Deed of Arrangement.

Apparently Ouvry passed this information on to the Margate solicitor although I do not find any copy of his letter, as another letter from Margate dated June 11th says that " Mary Anne Jerrold repudiates the Deed of 1857 and her interest in the Memorial Fund is not bound by it," and there is a postscript saying that " she perfectly understood it at the time."

Now Miss Jerrold herself takes a hand ; on June 29th she writes to Dickens direct, signing herself as " Polly," asserting that her eldest brother William (Blanchard) claimed that after her mother's death he had some claim to a share in the proceeds of the theatrical performances. There is nothing among Ouvry's papers to throw light on what then happened, but there is a holograph from Dickens to Ouvry on August 31st enclosing " two notes from the two leading young Jerroldians. I think we shall be able to carry our point. How can they *legally* neutralise that Deed and what shall I demand that they do with it ? " Although there is no record, I think that Ouvry and Dickens met to discuss the matter, as there is the draft of a document dated November 29th, 1859,

entitled " Release of Deed of Arrangement," which absolves all the parties thereto from their undertaking. It was not till August 29th, 1860, that Edmund (D. E. Jerrold) from America sent, through his legal representatives, his reply forgoing his claim under the Deed of Arrangement and returning the copy of the Deed that had been sent to him. All this business connected with the " Release " cost money and I find among the papers all the bills of the various solicitors for their charges.

Thereafter matters seem to have gone smoothly, and various receipts —the series is not complete—signed by Miss Jerrold shew that Dickens was sending her an average of about £70 a year through his friend (and contributor to *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*) W. Hepworth Dixon, who was acting as her Trustee, having acted in the same capacity to her mother. It seems evident that Dickens was unwilling to communicate with Miss Jerrold direct.

In 1861 (October 5th) Arthur Smith died leaving Dickens and Forster as Trustees, and when Dickens died in 1870 Forster was left as Sole Trustee for the administration of the Fund. Soon after Dickens's death on June 7th, 1870, Miss Jerrold wrote to Forster (July 2nd) with an expression of regret at the occurrence and asking him to send her cheques through Dixon. This led to an exchange of letters between Dixon and Forster (advised by Ouvry), in which effect was given to Miss Jerrold's wishes ; the originals are here, and in one of Dixon's letters he says, " . . . how terrible it must be to Forster to look round for that Memorial Committee ; gone Dickens, Stanfield, Leech, Lemon, Evans, Albert and Arthur Smith, Egg and Cunningham, and Knight as good as gone."

Miss Jerrold was not " Polly " to Forster and a year later, July 27th, 1871, she wrote asking for the Fund to be transferred to her own name. Forster sent it on to Ouvry for advice, adding : " I am prepared to award £1,500, as near an approach I feel that I can make to a perfect impartiality . . . I am quite against handing over the money absolutely. It would be got hold of and be gone in a jiffey." I cannot find that anything definite occurred, but three years later, in 1874, there is evidence of some dissension among the members of the Jerrold family. Forster, who was struggling, in spite of serious ill-health, to complete his *Life of Dickens*, two volumes of which had appeared, received from Blanchard Jerrold a letter, dated February 9th, 1874, criticising a passage in Book VIII, Chapter I, stating that the Memorial Fund had been raised " as an addition to the estate of Douglas Jerrold," and he goes on to add : " . . . my sister has chosen to hold herself apart from her family from the moment when they consented to yield to her the life interest in the Fund ; that she has without the shadow of a reason treated them as enemies, and that she has put herself under the protection of Mr. Hepworth Dixon, to whose eldest son she pretends that she will leave the money raised for her father's family." Forster sent this on to Ouvry with a note : " I will tell Mr. B. Jerrold to call on you to arrange a compromise . . . Your kind advice in the matter after you have seen him I will strictly follow." What was settled is not disclosed by these papers and it is not till nearly a year later, December 1st, 1874, that Blanchard Jerrold writes to Ouvry that he has power of attorney from his brother in America [D. E. Jerrold, who had in 1860 already yielded up his claim under the Deed of Arrangement] to act and claim his share, and then " repeats " that his sister should have the income till death and then it should be distributed among the family as that was his mother's wish and reason for opposing an annuity.

It would appear from that letter that some sort of feeling existed in the family that the ultimate destiny of the Fund should be arrived at. I think that some communication must have been made to Miss Jerrold,

and that dissension had again arisen among them. Anyway, Miss Jerrold wrote to Forster on February 11th, 1875, " this unpleasant affair. I was not aware . . . that my brother Edmund laid any claim . . . or indeed did I know he was still alive . . . I have for years thought him dead . . . hope now this very painful family dispute may be settled . . ." Forster sent this to Ouvry with the remark : " I expected the enclosed. She ' Dear Mr. Forsters ' me now. I am too unwell to see her . . . she must see you," and to Miss Jerrold he wrote, " . . . Too unwell to see you . . . see Ouvry." She also wrote to Ouvry the following day referring to Edward's unexpected turning up, " . . . painfully surprised to hear of him in the form I do, but believe the matter to be more of my eldest brother's (Blanchard) doing than his."

Forster also wrote to Ouvry, observing that it was " a good opportunity of informing the writer what is proposed to be done with the Trust. Is it due ? I can hardly think so but rather suspect it is a kind of ' dodge ' to circumvent what she hears of her brother's claim by putting in her own."

Forster was at this time seriously ill with bronchitis ; so ill that all work had become a burden, and I feel sure that, as the sole surviving Trustee of the Jerrold Fund, he found the responsibility too onerous, and was looking for some way out. Hence the reference to " what is proposed to be done with the Trust."

On February 21st Blanchard wrote to Ouvry, apparently somewhat apprehensive at the turn affairs had taken : " I have been, and am, ill and much troubled . . . I can only say I hope an amicable adjustment may prove practicable . . . "

The outcome was that Forster, acting no doubt on Ouvry's advice though I do not find any memoranda on the subject, decided to be rid of all responsibility by transferring " £2,000 Midland Railway Stock, and Cash £79 5*s*. 0*d*. the whole of the Trust Fund, into the Court of Chancery, and for this purpose swore an Affidavit, of which, of course, Ouvry preserved a copy, that was filed on April 24th. All the facts in the history of the Foundation and administration of the Memorial Trust Fund are set forth, and the phraseology is precise and careful as one might expect from so upright and unromantic a person as Forster guided by so trustworthy and conscientious a lawyer as Ouvry. For instance : " Jerrold died in circumstances which in the opinion of his friends rendered it expedient that the family or some members of it should be assisted . . ." It also recounts that the widow objected to an annuity and the money was therefore invested in the Midland Railway stock.

On May 5th notice of Forster's intention was sent to each member of the Jerrold family interested and on May 18th Blanchard [? in consonance with his attitude throughout] wrote asking for a copy of Forster's Affidavit, and between that date and May 28th Ouvry received, and preserved, acknowledgment from every one, Blanchard signing for himself and for his brother Edmund ; there are separate acknowledgments from Henry Mayhew and his wife Jane Matilda, as they were living apart.

Even now an apparent hitch arose, as Miss Jerrold's solicitor wrote on June 22nd a letter in which appears this sentence, " postpone the hearing of the petition," and again on July 2nd with this sentence, " . . . as the whole Fund belongs to Miss Jerrold."

That is the latest document I find among Ouvry's papers, but I am able to add, on the authority of Walter Jerrold's life of his grandfather (1918), that when Miss Jerrold died on March 30th, 1910, the money passed under her will to Christ Church, Oxford, for the foundation of a " Douglas Jerrold Scholarship in English Literature."

IV

There are two other documents in these Ouvry papers that have an interest to Dickensians, although they do not refer to Charles Dickens himself.

It will be remembered that after Dickens's death in 1870, his eldest son bought from the executors the property of Gad's Hill Place and that he lived there for some years ; to be precise until August 1879. It will also be remembered that Charles Dickens in his will left a sum of £8,000 in trust of his sons Charles and Henry, the interest to be paid to Mrs. Dickens, and on her death to be divided equally between his eight children ; therefore each of them had a reversionary interest in £1,000. It will be recalled that one son, Sydney, died in 1872.

Charles Dickens the Younger left Gad's Hill Place because of the great expense of keeping up so large an estate, and in October of 1879 he found himself compelled to anticipate any legacy that would ultimately fall to him, namely, " $\frac{1}{8}$th and $\frac{1}{8}$th " of another $\frac{1}{8}$th " of £8,000 secured on mortgage. He therefore arranged to raise £1,200 through an insurance society. He did it through Mr. Ouvry and here are the two parchment documents by which he got the loan bearing interest at 7 per cent., the " Security by Assignment " and the Agreement with the Reversionary and General Securities Company Limited.

Mrs. Dickens had been stricken earlier in the year by cancer and it so fell out that she died on November 22nd, only six weeks after the completion of these two documents, so Charles the Younger was able to redeem his loan on December 30th, 1879, and the Agreement bears the cancelling endorsement, " the principal interest and costs were duly paid and satisfied."

I conclude the account of my ramblings among these papers by reverting to the fact that we shall never know what was hidden in Mr. Tulkinghorn's black boxes with transcendental names. In fiction Tulkinghorn's usefulness for the purposes of the author's plot ceased with his death. In real life it is different, and we should feel grateful to Mr. Ouvry for so carefully preserving his papers and memoranda.

THE DICKENS HOUSE ENDOWMENT FUND
(WALTER DEXTER MEMORIAL)

	£ s. d.			*Branch Total to date,* £ s. d.		
Auckland	1	13	0	12	3	0
Balham—In memory of Frank S. Johnson	5	0	0	35	0	0
Birmingham	20	0	0	151	12	0
Boston—Mrs. Bagley	10	0	0			
Anon	5	0	0			
	15	0	0	53	15	4
Broadstairs—Mr. Greaves's Recital	2	5	0	9	10	0
Cheltenham	25	0	0	48	13	0
Hatfield	10	0	0	17	2	6
Liverpool	50	0	0	176	13	0
Lytham St. Annes	5	0	0	35	2	0
Manchester	13	5	6	240	9	3
Nottingham	30	0	0	266	18	0
St. Pancras	23	5	0	121	1	6
Sheffield	25	0	0	53	8	0
Southend	15	15	0	177	4	0
HEADQUARTERS						
Mrs. Parsons	5	5	0			
Dramatic Performance—*The Mystery of Edwin Drood*—						
Additional Proceeds	0	10	0			
Mrs. Bacon	1	0	0			
	1	10	0			
Miss Shelton	1	0	0			
Miss Audrey Crossland	1	0	0			
Anon.	0	7	6	1,376	12	2

Total to date : £6,558 0*s.* 1*d.*

FORTY-FIFTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP

AT CHELTENHAM

THE beautiful town of Cheltenham was looking its best in a blaze of sunshine and Spring flowers, when members of the Dickens Fellowship assembled there on May 25th for their Annual Conference. Some who had come from New Zealand and from Boston, Mass., were among the large company received at the Town Hall in the evening by the Mayor, Alderman A. J. Bettridge and Mrs. Bettridge. The beautiful ballroom with its banks of flowers, vied with the gardens outside ; a delightful setting for the opening meeting, at which members renewed old friendships, and gaily danced the evening away.

* * * * *

Early next morning the members met again at the Town Hall for the Business Meeting, presided over by the Chairman of Council, Mrs. E. H. Fox-Davies, Hon. Secretary of the Birmingham Branch of the Fellowship. The meeting was opened by the Mayor, to whom a vote of thanks was proposed by Mr. R. C. D. Shuckburgh, who took occasion to express to His Worship the thanks of the Fellowship, not only for his attendance that morning and on the previous evening, but for the lavish hospitality provided by him and the Corporation on the occasion of the inaugural reception.

After the departure of the Mayor, Mrs. Fox-Davies delivered her Address, in which she examined the aims of the Fellowship, and claimed that although they were nearly fifty years old, they were still up to date and admirably serving the purpose for which they were framed by the founders of the Fellowship.

The Report of the Council followed various business items. In it the Hon. Secretary, Mr. John Greaves, gave a résumé of another successful year's working in spite of prevailing difficulties. He regretfully reported that two branches had ceased to function during the year, Guildford and Cirencester, but it would appear that efforts are still being made to keep the latter branch in being. Again this year a list of distinguished members removed by death was not given, as *The Dickensian* now serves this purpose very fully. But Mr. Greaves said he felt bound to pay tribute to the late Count de Suzannet, and to Mr. C. H. Green, Hon. Secretary of the Fellowship from 1920 to 1925. The report continued to make an appeal for the better representation of Branches at the biannual Council Meetings in London. Mr. Greaves pointed out that branches who were unable to appoint delegates to travel to London for these meetings were empowered, under the rules, to appoint others to attend and vote for them. An urgent appeal was also made to Hon. Secretaries and others, to ensure that the all-important Minutes of these Council Meetings should be read to the committees of branches for the consideration of their members. Not only does this practice keep the current affairs of the Fellowship before such committees but often disseminates useful ideas, as for instance Wolverhampton's obtaining a grant towards the cost of speakers at their meetings which the local authorities there regard as an important feature of Adult Education. The Report also gave details of the assistance given by the Fellowship to various features of the Festival of Britain, which, in turn, had benefited us in a variety of ways, notably by the exhibition of London Transport's fine poster advertising the Literary Shrines of London, which, of course, includes the Dickens

House. Rochester's forthcoming Dickens Pageant was, to some extent, being dressed by the Fellowship's Costume Department, and two of Miss Waterer's adaptations, formerly seen at Broadstairs Dickens Festivals, were being revived at Rochester during Pageant Week. The Fellowship had been appealed to during the year in connection with the preservation of Mr. Pickwick's George and Vulture tavern, and the Grapes at Limehouse, an unique Thames-side hostelry of the *Our Mutual Friend* country ; while, with the permission of the Dickens family, Dickens's inscription on Mary Hogarth's grave at Kensal Green had been recut. Reference was also made to the publicity afforded by the B.B.C. with their serial presentations of Dickens, in spite of the fact that this year's efforts had not been of the happiest. Finally Mr. Greaves paid tribute to invaluable support given him throughout the year by the Assistant Secretary, Miss Minards, and expressed his satisfaction at the cordial manner in which his fellow officers co-operated with him in his duties.

The Hon. Treasurer, Mr. E. J. Mitchell, in presenting the accounts, expressed his pleasure in being in possession of the audited accounts before Conference, for the first time since the war. They were, in view of existing conditions, satisfactory, and will appear in these pages in due course.

Two new Vice-Presidents were elected, the distinguished actors Mr. Felix Aylmer and Mr. Emlyn Williams, of whom more is written on another page, and the three existing officers were re-elected. Messrs. Morris, Gregory & Co. were re-elected as Hon. Auditors, and the Hon. Secretary was asked to forward to them the Fellowship's cordial thanks for their services and for their further generosity in allowing their name to come forward for re-election.

Following upon the election of the officers, the Chairman announced that she had a pleasant duty to perform, one that did not figure on the Agenda. On the approaching June 12th, she said, there would be celebrated the Silver Wedding of our Hon. Secretary and Mrs. Greaves, and it was thought that the occasion should be marked not only by the congratulations and good wishes of the members, but that some small token of the Fellowship's affection should be presented to them. She thereupon asked them to accept an antique silver punch ladle, duly inscribed, and an old Chinese punch bowl. The presentation was made amidst great applause, which was renewed both when Mr. Greaves replied on behalf of Mrs. Greaves and himself.

The Editor of *The Dickensian* then voiced the Council's recommendation to rescind the Rule laying down that branches formed since 1927 should fix their subscription to include a copy of *The Dickensian* to every member. He made an urgent appeal that supporters of the magazine should not withhold their support should the motion be carried, and made it clear that any fall in circulation beneath the present level would lead to extremely serious difficulties for the future of the publication. The repeal was recommended to assist those branches who allege that the present price of the magazine presents them with problems they experience great difficulty in solving. Mr. R. C. D. Shuckburgh counter-proposed that the matter being of such importance for the continuance of *The Dickensian*, it should be referred back to Council for further consideration, and his motion was carried.

The invitation of Headquarters was accepted that next year's Conference be held in and near London in September, in celebration of the Fellowship's Jubilee. The programme was briefly outlined, and the announcement made that full printed details would reach branch secretaries during the present summer. The invitation of the Manchester Branch was also accepted, that the 1953 Conference be held in that city in celebration of the Jubilee of the Manchester Branch.

The Pickwick Papers, it was decided, was to be the book of the year, for special study during the season 1952-53.

An account of the North-West Regional Group of Branches was presented by Mr. T. H. Moffett, which demonstrated healthy prosperity and revealed that much benefit resulted from the association.

Then followed a vote of thanks to the three Gloucestershire branches, Cheltenham, Gloucester and Tewkesbury, for their hospitality and for the efficient organisation of the elaborate programme which had begun so happily. This was coupled with the name of Mr. A. G. Dye, the Conference Secretary, whose energy, ably aided by that of his wife, was largely responsible for what was to prove one of the most successful Conferences for many years.

Finally, a vote of thanks to the Chairman of the meeting was carried with acclamation.

* * * * *

Saturday afternoon was occupied by a pleasant motor-coach tour of some Cotswold villages, during which tea was taken at Bourton-on-the-Water.

* * * * *

The Conference Banquet followed on Saturday evening. Again the handsome ballroom of the Town Hall was used, and again it provided a beautiful and striking setting for the function. Mrs. C. E. Barraclough, President of the Cheltenham Branch, presided.

The Toast of the Evening, "The Immortal Memory of Charles Dickens," was proposed by Mr. John Moore, the well-known Gloucestershire novelist, who said :

This is only the second time that I have had the honour of proposing an Immortal Memory and I confess that I am rather frightened, not so much of you as of the Immortal himself, who is, I feel, fixing me with a rather stern eye.

These toasts are not matters to be taken lightly. I went once to what they call a "Burns Nicht" in Scotland—a celebration which, as you know, they hold in honour of one of their tribal deities and I watched a most respectable company gathered reverently before their haggises to celebrate the birthday of their "ain Rabbie Burns."

His memory was proposed by a grim, grey Elder, whose speech was rather like a sermon. In the middle of it, he paused unaccountably and suddenly looked over his shoulder, but there was nobody there.

Nobody there, and I wondered whether he had heard from across the Styx or from the heights of Mount Olympus—a rather rude, rather knotty, slightly drunken, distinctly mocking guffaw.

So with Charles Dickens, who was a very much greater and a very much more devastating character than Burns. It is a rather sad fact that gentility and genius do not often inhabit the same bodies ; the personal demon which drove Dickens along and drove him until he died worn out and burned out at the early age of 58 was a boisterous demon, a mischievous, ruthless, impolite demon and no respecter of persons.

Dickens, as you know, was almost diabolically mischievous. He loved practical jokes and liked to make them on a pattern of his own designing. In Boston (Mass.), a place about ten times as Victorian as Cheltenham, Dickens was asked to dine at one of the great houses. He appeared in a vivid green waistcoat and fancy cravat and when the conversation turned to London society and he was asked by his hostess which he thought was the more beautiful woman, Mrs. Norton or the Duchess of Sutherland, he replied :

"I do not know. Mrs. Norton is the most beautiful but the Duchess is the most kissable person."

An atom bomb could not have caused more commotion to those Bostonians but Dickens did not care. He had a furious sense of fun

and he would occasionally, at the most unsuitable moments, utter a wild hoot of laughter which has been likened to the wild hooting of his dwarf, Quilp.

Well, I have no wish to hear from across the dark Styx or from the heights of Mount Olympus that wild and mocking laughter over my shoulder so I am not going to be pompous about our hero.

I want to remind you what manner of man we are come together to honour to-night. He is to be identified, through his books, with a sort of fireside cosiness and London fog outside, a rum punch on the hearth, that huge turkey in *The Christmas Carol* which, you remember, if after much effort it had stood on its legs it would have snapped them like sealing-wax.

He was a rip-roaring radical who would "scare the pants off" half the people in this room. He wrote things about the British Constitution and about Parliament which, I venture to suggest, even the *Daily Worker* would not publish to-day. He had very little use for tradition and, incidentally, I believe he would have thought that the theft of the Stone of Scone was extremely funny and he would have pulled the legs of all the pompous people who have got so hot under the collar about it. Because certain particular evils he tilted against no longer exist, we are mistaken if we imagine that if he lived to-day he would have been a Tory and a traditionalist.

He would be just a lambasting, fighting revolutionary radical having a go at injustice and tyranny wherever he encountered them. He was different from our present reformers because, at least, he would get some fun out of the business. The Left would have sent him into fits of laughter, because he was above all a romantic, and bleak dreariness of bureaucracy would have driven him mad.

A statistical approach to human happiness, the approach which measures human happiness in terms of houses which they call "accommodation units," and calories would have made him very angry indeed.

What he would have said about those horrible savings talks which we accidentally listen to when we are turning on the news a little early does not bear thinking about. Those prim and priggish admonitions which urge us not to spend our money on luxuries, he who knew that when you are poor and your life is drab a single luxury seems worth all the dull necessities of life.

He was, above all things, the poet of the poor man's feast because he had been poor himself. He knew the glory and the virtue of extravagance. Only the rich can afford to be mean. Thank the Lord he never saw Reform in terms of arithmetic. He did not confuse the well-being of human beings with a cost-of-living index nor see democracy as something it expressed in figures unless, indeed, they were expressed in figures of fun.

As G. K. Chesterton pointed out, the one absolutely unique thing about Dickens is that he could portray the democracy of free men who were also funny men. Perhaps he was the only writer who could do this because, in countries where democracy has been bitterly fought for and is less taken for granted, unless you describe a man as peculiar, you are thought to describe him as a slave.

At first sight, this deep conviction of democracy in Dickens may indeed seem to lack dignity but, if you think about it, eccentricity and individualism are expressions of human dignity. In a sense, the more wildly eccentric a character is the more surely he demonstrates the fact that he is the captain of his fate and the master of his soul.

Take the most extravagant figure in the whole of English literature—Shakespeare's Falstaff—and compare him with any obedient citizen of a totalitarian state and you will have no doubt where true dignity lies.

We might say that only a society which can produce funny men can also produce free men and that only where people can be funny can they be free. For this reason I am disturbed and many of us are dismayed at what appears to be an increasing standardisation of people. We do not notice this so much in the country as we do in the factories and the city streets where we get an inevitable sense of it. I ask myself this question—When people get to look alike and wear the same clothes and do the same jobs and go back at night to the same sort of little houses by the same bus, do they begin to think alike ? Because if they do, we are done—finished.

When people all think in the same way, democracy is finished. There is evidence of this increasing standardisation in all sorts of ways. Owing particularly perhaps to the B.B.C., we are all gradually beginning to talk in the same way, not only in the matter of accent but in the matter of phrasing. We are using, in our common speech, the bureaucratic phrases which are drummed into us every day. Even ordinary women in queues speak of things " getting in short supply." It is talk cut to a pattern, like our utility clothes, and we are getting more and more into the way of dressing alike. We do not dress to suit our fancy or to distinguish ourselves from our neighbours, but in order to make ourselves look alike or like our neighbours.

I believe that is a bad thing and I wish that more women would wear crazy hats, and that more men would wear, like Dickens, fantastically flowered waistcoats. I believe it would be good for our immortal souls.

Public Health acts make for standardisation too. It is very difficult, for instance, to be a gipsy nowadays. I remember a wonderful old hermit in the days of my boyhood, whom we used to call " The wild man of Borneo," who lived on Bredon Hill and slept in the " folly " at the top of it. We do not permit people to be hermits or wild men of Borneo nowadays. We advise them to put down their names for a prefab. and if they don't want a prefab. we think there is something wrong with them and that they are not capable of looking after themselves and we send them to an institution.

I can think of several more of these eccentrics, glorious eccentrics, but some of them are still alive and I am not going to identify them too closely because I have been accused often of putting real people into books, which is the only kinship I can claim with Dickens who filled his pages with composite portraits.

His father paid him back a thousandfold by being Mr. Micawber and then Old Dorrit. His mother did not recognise herself as Mrs. Nickleby. Then there was that terrible portrait in *Bleak House*—Skimpole. Dickens even stalked his living characters like a big game hunter. He went to Yorkshire in search of Mr. Squeers and he even took his artist with him to paint the man's portrait when he found him.

Dickens went to a London Magistrates' Court and the result of the portrait was so savage that the magistrate, if he had lived to-day, could have got £10,000 damages. But in the very much more satisfactory days of Queen Victoria he got the sack.

When I say that he put real people in his books, I do not mean that Dickens photographed them. When he did, his sharp eye—and he had the sharpest eye and most extraordinary memory of any writer in the English language—spotted in somebody, an acquaintance or clerk maybe, a character and that was the seed which grew into a huge spreading tree.

That was the skeleton which Dickens's imagination clothed in all the fancy and the finery, all the splendour and all the subtlety which we now recognise in his characters. The extraordinary thing is that the more fantastic he made them, the further he got away from real life, the more astonishingly true and the more astonishingly real they became.

I cannot suggest to you any reason for this except that great genius did it and it was magic. It was outside mortal understanding. One or two examples come to mind. We have all probably met, from time to time, the men who attempt to humour their wives with baby talk but with Mr. Mantalini, when he addressed the lady who "coiled her fascinations round him like a pure angelic rattlesnake," Dickens knew he was taking latitude. He jumps clean out of the realm of fact and into the realm of fancy. Another lady actually scratches his face and he replies, "Oh, what a demned savage lamb." He is no longer a probable character but has becóme a universal character, the type and the synthesis of all the men for all time who talk in that way.

Then there are the people who ask endless rhetorical questions, but we have never imagined anyone who could build out of these the sentences that Dickens did. Mr. Chadband is fixed in our memory for all time and makes us see anybody who asks rhetorical questions. Dickens at his wildest is always Dickens at his truest.

Think of Edwin Drood and the crazy and extravagant fancy of that epitaph spaced out on a tombstone—the reverential wife of Thomas Sapsea, who always looked up to him, "Stranger, pause and ask thyself the question, Canst thou do likewise? If not, with a blush retire!"

Nobody could have written anything so monstrously crazy and wild but so right and acceptable. I have forgotten a good deal of Edwin Drood, but I shall never forget that. But it is always the fancies that live and the facts that recede in memory with the years. A novelist who writes of life as it is will hardly survive his own generation.

John Dickens, the novelist's father, was a rather dreary and tiresome fact. He was buried exactly 100 years ago this year but the huge and splendid fancy that was Mr. Micawber was not interred in that grave. With Falstaff and Chaucer's "Wife of Bath," and Dickens's Tony Weller, Mrs. Gamp, Pecksniff, Dick Swiveller and the rest, he takes his place among the immortals.

We live in precarious days, we cannot say with Mr. Chadband, "What is peace; is it war?" We cannot tell whether this year or next year the facts upon which our lives are built may not be blown away but if that should happen you may be sure that if there is one tattered page of Dickens left, his fancies will survive.

I ask you then to drink with me, in humble gratitude, to the great and the glorious genius of him who created something indestructible in a transient world—to the Immortal Memory of Charles Dickens.

The Toast of the Dickens Fellowship was proposed by Mr. A. N. Gilkes, M.A., Headmaster of Dean Close School, Cheltenham, to which Mr. John Greaves, Hon. Secretary of the Fellowship, replied. The Toast of the Civic Authorities of Cheltenham, Gloucester, and Tewkesbury, was proposed by Mr. F. W. Woodhouse, President of the Tewkesbury Branch, to which Ald. P. T. Smith, Deputy Mayor of Cheltenham, and Ald. F. H. Knight, Mayor of Tewkesbury, replied. The Gloucestershire Branches of the Dickens Fellowship was the subject of a toast proposed by Mr. E. J. Mitchell, Hon. Treasurer of the Fellowship, to which Mrs. C. E. Barraclough, President of the Cheltenham Branch, replied.

* * * * *

On Sunday afternoon came a visit to Tewkesbury, where the vicar, the Rev. Brian Purefoy, conducted the party round the great Norman Abbey. Later, Mrs. Elaine Waley, grand-daughter of Charles Dickens, laid, on behalf of the Gloucestershire Branches, a wreath of scarlet geraniums, on the tablet which records Mr. Pickwick's visit to the Hop Pole Hotel. Tea was served at the Swan Hotel, where the Mayor

of Tewkesbury, Ald. F. H. Knight, extended a welcome to the party, which later returned to the Abbey for Evensong, the preacher being the Rev. Canon E. C. Hanson, Past President of the Cheltenham Branch. After the return to Cheltenham the party assembled at the Queen's Hotel for a social evening given by the Gloucester Branches. After a buffet supper, members of the Hucclecote Women's Institute appeared in a one-act play, *Vintage '93*, with which they had recently triumphed in a local dramatic tournament. Mrs. Buckingham, the producer, is to be congratulated upon the remarkable quality of the performance. The Spa Singers concluded the evening with some delightful singing that proved very much to the taste of the company.

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Monday, the final day of the Conference, was devoted to a highly successful motor-coach tour. The morning was spent in Gloucester, where the visitors were received by the Dean, who gave an illuminating address on the history of the great cathedral. Dividing into groups, the party then inspected the building. Lunch, under the chairmanship of the President of the Gloucester Branch of the Fellowship, Mrs. W. R. Eggleton, was served at the mediaeval Mercers' Hall, where the Dean joined the company. The afternoon was devoted to the beautiful tour of the Wye Valley. Travelling through Chepstow, a halt was made for tea at Tintern, where time was allowed for a visit to the superbly situated ruins of the Abbey and the return was made *via* Ross and Monmouth.

Thus ended another delightful Conference which reflected the greatest credit upon the organisers, especially upon the Conference Secretary, Mr. A. G. Dye, of Cheltenham, to whom the Fellowship owes, and offers, it most grateful thanks.

L. C. S.

MY FAVOURITE MEN CHARACTERS

By Amelia Postlethwaite

I HAVE been asked to give my idea of my favourite male character in Dickens, and, while feeling rather like Mrs. Todgers when invited by Mr. Pecksniff to give her idea of a wooden leg, I am in fact guided by that characteristically generous remark of the architect philosopher ; for I can dismiss at once all the characters which a mere male would expect a woman to prefer. Like, no doubt, many others, I have no use at all for the fictional " wooden legs " we are supposed to go into raptures about. There are, mercifully, no wooden legs at all in two of Dickens's earlier books, *Pickwick* and *The Old Curiosity Shop*. Nicholas, it is true, *is* rather wooden—a " stick " he has often been called ; but Joe Willet and young Mr. Chester are mere twigs compared with that formidable and boring baton, Arthur Clennam. *Dombey* is, of course, an absolute desert, like *Oliver Twist* ; there is simply nobody there any reasonable woman would look at. Something might be made of young Copperfield ; he is not a " stick "—mercifully too versatile for that, boxing the compass as he does. Martin Chuzzlewit the younger is so very " stickey " that he simply had to be sent for a term to the Mississippi mud. " Pip " is, as he was intended to be, quite hopeless. *Bleak House and* Richard Carstone—well, I ask you ; he is hardly more *compos mentis* than Sydney Carton. Prospects brighten a bit with *Our Mutual Friend*, in which Eugene has at least the merit of not knowing his own mind and not being discouraged on that account. But in the last, unfinished work we meet another " stick," or, rather, twig in Edwin Drood, who very understandably gets mislaid, to nobody's

real regret. I fear that all the conventional male characters are too stick-like for most of us.

In *The Pickwick Papers* there is one character to whom every woman's heart must warm. It is not the poetical Snodgrass or the sentimental Tupman ; nor, for obvious reasons, is it *dear* Mr. Pickwick ; but it is dear Mr. Winkle. How refreshing he looks in that first glimpse we have of him, leaning back in his chair like a son of Nature and smoking his cheroot like a *man*. Seymour, the artist, did more justice to his gaiters in this picture than Phiz did to his whole person in a later picture in which, on his knees, he is considerably taller than Arabella standing up. It is so grossly unfair to misrepresent him so ; and he is, we feel, even misrepresented in the text. Was it the act of a mere poltroon to accept without question the challenge of the army surgeon ? I think it was the act of one of the bravest of the brave. Yes, in spite of his misadventures, I am sure Mr. Winkle is one of the happiest and most favoured for us all. We congratulate Arabella, that sweet girl ; her choice is in itself high praise.

I come to *The Old Curiosity Shop*. Who is the hero in that work ? Certainly not the young Trent or the old bachelor or the fearful Kit Nubbles. It is, of course, Mr. " Dick " Swiveller, whose truly poetic temperament is not too sympathetically handled by the author any more than by the Wackles family, from whom he had so providential an escape. To them he was " a gay young man." Mr. Sampson Brass was, of course, not " gay " and if he had only been young might have been simply jumped at by the Wackles's and their like ; but it was Mr. Brass, as well as his sister, who was the " dragon," and dear Dick who was the chivalrous St. George.

My third choice may seem surprising until it is remembered that, like the others, he suffers from the prejudice created, rather unnecessarily, by the author. Taking our own view, and not the author's, of Mr. Pecksniff, we feel at once for his misfortunes and for his better nature. From the beginning no effort is spared to make him look ridiculous. The accident caused by the high wind in the opening chapter might have happened to anybody. If Nicholas Nickleby had been ascending those steps in similar circumstances, his head would not have proved any harder than Mr. Pecksniff's. If Arthur Clennam had been bumped in similar fashion, it would have been not a ridiculous farce but a gravely tragic incident, relieved no doubt by the timely and highly sentimental arrival of Amy Dorrit. And Mr. Pecksniff is far too frequently assaulted ; the book seems quite littered with pictures showing him lying insensible in corners. Nicholas was assaulted too, but nobody thought there was anything funny or discreditable in that. In choosing Mr. Pecksniff as at least one of my favourite characters, I remember, too, that he is no longer young. He had a generous and catholic heart ; it was unwise of him to admire Miss Graham, but he equally admired Mrs. Todgers. He had, too, a quality that all women esteem, a sense of proportion ; he was quite right to condemn the worship of the golden calf for eighteen shillings a week. Had it, as Dickens suggested, been eighteen hundred, his advice would have been assuredly tempered by his customary consideration. Mr. Pecksniff is not, perhaps, the *preux chevalier*, but he is, obviously, a much maligned character, and *so* human.

TWO EARLY LONDON HOMES OF CHARLES DICKENS

By The Editor

OF the London houses in which Dickens lived as a child or a young man, those in Camden Town, in Somers Town, in Gower Street North, Bentinck Street, Buckingham Street, Cecil Street, Margaret Street, and Furnivals Inn, nothing is left. It is possible that the house in Lant Street, Borough, where he lodged for a time, is still standing, for many old houses still survive in it, but we have no information about its precise identity. Two of his early London homes are, however, still to be seen, unrecognised till now, and apparently unaltered since his day. Both stand in the Borough of St. Pancras where Dickens spent some years of his childhood, and where, after the youthful years to which these houses take us back, he was to spend many years of his fame in Doughty Street and Tavistock House.

Photo: L.C.S.]
10 Norfolk Street now 22 Cleveland Street

We have it on Forster's authority that when, at a very tender age Charles was brought to London for a while, between his father's appointments at the naval dockyards of Portsmouth and Chatham, the family lived in Norfolk Street, Fitzroy Square. But Forster gives no number and we possess no other information about this sojourn. But we do know that Dickens and his family was living in this same street, and possibly in the same house, as will be seen later, from 1829 until 1831. When Charles took out a reader's ticket at the British Museum on the earliest possible date, his eighteenth birthday in 1830, he gave his address as " 10 Norfolk Street, Fitzroy Square," and the ticket was renewed, bearing this address, at least until May, 1831.

Norfolk Street was a short thoroughfare that ran between Goodge Street and Tottenham Street, and now forms part of Cleveland Street. This is its third name, for on Horwood's map of 1792 it is marked as Upper Newman Street, it being a continuation of what Mr. Turveydrop

knew, and what we now know, as Newman Street. When Norfolk Street became part of Cleveland Street it was renumbered, and what was No. 10 is now No. 22. Here Dickens was living when he was a short-hand writer in Doctors' Commons ; there still exists a business card inscribed " Mr. Charles Dickens, Short Hand Writer, 10 Norfolk Street, Fitzroy Square." About this time he began reporting in the Gallery of the House of Commons for *The Mirror of Parliament.*

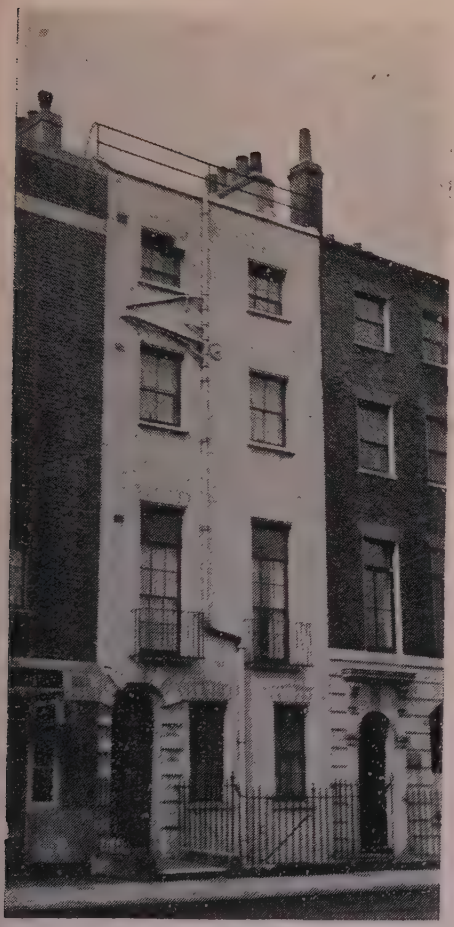

Photo: L.C.S.]

15 (now 25) Fitzroy Street

It is a corner house and much of the ground floor is now occupied by the offices of an undertaker. But the private door and the staircase leading to the upper floors are old enough to have known the footsteps of the youthful Dickens. The door usually stands open, as the house is occupied by several tenants, and it is well worth taking a peep at the faded dignity of the entrance-hall and staircase. There we may visualise the comings and goings of the young shorthand writer, his Micawber-like father and the rest of the family. The shop, in those days, was occupied by one John Dodd, a grocer to whom, Mr. W. J. Carlton tells me, John Dickens was at one time in debt. Dodd had been here since 1804, which strengthens the probability that this house is the same as that to which the Dickens family came after leaving Portsmouth.

* * *

Mr. Carlton has also been characteristically helpful with regard to the second house with which I have now to deal. From him I learn that John Dickens made his first application for a reader's ticket to the British Museum on June 21st, 1832, from 15 Fitzroy Street, and it is to be presumed that Dickens was then living there with his family. In any case there is a letter from Dickens to H. G. Hartland, a reporting friend, addressed from here on December 9th in the same year. In the Nonesuch Edition of the letters it is given as No. 13 Fitzroy Street, but a reference to the original, printed in facsimile in *The Dickensian*, 1932, p. 12, makes it clear that the number should be 15. Some of Dickens's letters to his friend Kolle are addressed from Fitzroy Street, but without a number. It is probable that either Charles or his father was the householder, for in Robson's *London Directory* for 1833 there appears :

" Dickens esq. 15 Fitzroy st. South," and in the Street Guide in the same volume : " Fitzroy st. South-end. 15 Dickens mr." It therefore seems certain that the family were here until they moved into 18 Bentinck Street, in January 1833. There is a letter addressed to Kolle from Fitzroy Street, written just before Christmas 1832. The next, dated January 5th, 1833, bears no address, but it speaks of the difficulty of moving on " Tuesday or Wednesday next." An interesting point about it is that " the piano will probably go to Bentinck Street to-day," so that it " will be in one place and we in another." This must have been the instrument on which Fanny played.

Fitzroy Street, like Cleveland Street, has been renumbered. This was necessitated when the former Russell Place was incorporated in it. The original No. 15 is now No. 25, and appears much as it did in the days when Dickens lived in it.

Dickens had made some progress since he left Norfolk Street. He was now reporting for *The True Sun*, and was able occasionally to enjoy breaks in the country, for we find him tempting Kolle to join him at Highgate, where the family proposed to spend a fortnight. At this time Kolle was acting as his intermediary in conveying his letters to the closely guarded Maria Beadnell. But the difficulty of his wooing did not, it would seem, depress him unduly, for Kolle and another friend, one Longhurst, were invited to spend a Saturday evening at Fitzroy Street, " to knock up a chaunt or two," and Thomas Beard is asked, on a Sunday evening, to " bring a brother or two to look in and take a glass of Punch and a cigar." Later in the year Kolle is invited to spend Christmas Day with the Dickens family here, and a distinct note of prosperity is sounded by the promise, with regard to some borrowed books, that : " Our man shall bring them this week without fail."

* * * * *

In addition to Mr. W. J. Carlton, whose assistance I have already acknowledged, I have also to thank Mr. C. S. Bainbridge, Borough Surveyor of St. Pancras, and Mr. W. Marriott, of Messrs. Watney, Combe and Reid, proprietors of the Yorkshire Grey public house, Fitzroy Street, for information about street renumbering.

A TAVISTOCK HOUSE MEMORY

Another Dickens association with the Borough of St. Pancras, was revealed by two letters of Dickens to J. L. Allen, which were offered at Sotheby's Salerooms in July.

The first, addressed from Tavistock House on March 21st, 1855, gives notice that Dickens desired to relinquish, at the following Lady Day, the coach-house and stable which he had been renting at 4 Woburn Mews. On June 28th he wrote again apologising for having forgotten, until then, to pay the rent on these premises.

Woburn Mews still exists, but has long since been entirely rebuilt. It lies at the back of the present Royal Hotel, Woburn Place.

CHARLES DICKENS IN THE WITNESS BOX

By Nils Erik Enkvist, M.A., Mag.Phil.

On Tuesday, October 16th, 1838, a certain Richard Davis, proprietor and driver of a London omnibus, got into trouble. Having bought an old horse that morning he ignored the fact that the animal was suffering from a sore on the shoulder, and put it into harness to pull the bus. But the horse soon proved too exhausted for the task. Near Lincoln's Inn Fields the driver finally lost his temper, climbed down from his seat and tried to invigorate the beast with a liberal dose of the whip. In a few minutes the scene of action was surrounded by a crowd, and one of the bystanders, an attorney called Peter Wright, could not stand seeing the poor animal maltreated. Consequently, the second act of this little London drama took place at Bow Street Police Court on the following Friday. The charge was filed by Mr. Thomas, Secretary of the S.P.C.A., and the principal witness against the driver was Charles Dickens, who had happened to see the incident. In the words of the reporter of *The Times* of October 20th, 1838 :

> Mr. C. Dickens (the popular writer under the signature of " Boz ") then came forward, and stated that he also witnessed the transaction, and in his opinion Mr. Wright had rather understated the facts against the defendant. When he (Mr. Dickens) came into Serle Street, the unfortunate horse had fallen down, and it was with some difficulty he was made to get up again. The defendant lashed him furiously with his whip about the head to make him go, and some persons who were present and appeared to know the defendant, went behind the omnibus to assist in pushing it forward, but all to no purpose, for such was the desperate state of the horse's shoulder, which was continually rubbed by the collar, that the animal could not move.

When the magistrate asked Dickens if he thought the condition of the horse had been too bad for it to be worked in an omnibus and that the driver's behaviour had been cruel, the answer was : " I most decidedly say so ". And when Davis, the bus-driver, asserted that the sore on the horse's shoulder was no bigger than a penny, Dickens intervened and said that the sore spot was " one of considerable extent ". In spite of many explanations the culprit was fined twenty shillings and costs, " which, after considerable grumbling, he paid ". Judging from the newspaper report there is little doubt that Dickens's evidence strongly influenced the verdict.

It is indicative of Dickens's love of animals and of his public spirit that he took the trouble to appear at Bow Street ; undoubtedly the plaintiff had a liberal supply of other witnesses in case Dickens had refused. In October, 1838, Dickens was a very busy man. He had just finished *Oliver Twist*, was probably working on *Nickleby*, and was in London only for a few weeks between visits to Broadstairs and the Midlands. *The Times* report bears the headline, " Charles Dickens in the Witness Box ", and the length of the item, some 750 words, is unusual for those days, considering the somewhat trifling character of the incident.

(Dickens appeared as a Police Court witness on two other occasions. One is recorded in *The Uncommercial Traveller*, Ch. XXX and the second in *The Dickensian*, 1917, p. 213. It may be added that he also once served on a Coroner's jury, see *The Uncommercial Traveller*, Ch. XIX and Forstor, Bk. II, Ch. 8.—Editor.)

RING UP *THE CHIMES*

By Malcolm Morley

THE year following the publication of *A Christmas Carol* came the second Christmas story of Dickens, *The Chimes*. It appeared in December, 1844, and Charles, mindful of the dramatic vultures, those semi-literate playwrights attached to the Minor Theatres of London waiting to pounce upon his every novel, determined to anticipate in some way their certain seizure of his latest work. He accordingly gave his sanction and blessing to a version to be done at the Adelphi Theatre under the management of Benjamin Webster. Twelve months earlier an adaptation of *A Christmas Carol* had been successful here and Dickens had reason to feel assured of a production befitting the theme of his new story.

THE CHIMES

dramatised by Mark Lemon and Gilbert A. à Beckett at the Adelphi Theatre, 1844.

from the original edition

Though still resentful of the pillage of his books for the stage, the novelist was now less vehement on the subject of these thefts. The law of Copyright still gave him little protection but, it would seem, he was determined that one dramatisation at least should be made with his approval. Gilbert Abbott à Beckett and Mark Lemon had recently provided Webster with a workmanlike adaptation of Dumanois and D'Ennery's drama *Don Caesar de Bazan*, and it was mutually agreed that the two collaborators should make the official stage version of *The Chimes* for the Adelphi. Both men were nearer in mind to Dickens than Edward Stirling, steady adaptor though the latter was of the works of Boz and, in point of fact, the person responsible for the previously-mentioned dramatisation of *A Christmas Carol*, one which Stirling boasted was sanctioned by the novelist.

It is more than likely that Charles first met à Beckett, at the St. James's where the earliest play of *Oliver Twist* was given in 1838. The piece was a complete and utter failure and blame was levelled at à Beckett, who presumably was responsible for the work, he being installed at that playhouse as a kind of dramatist-in-waiting. But it is not improbable Dickens himself took a hand in transplanting the characters from the then unfinished novel to the stage. He had already written

The Village Coquettes and two farces for the theatre and all had been produced there recently. The close association of the two authors with the St. James's would have brought them together at that time. They were to remain fast friends through the years that followed.

At the age of twenty-one, Gilbert à Beckett had started *Figaro in London*, a caustic and lively weekly that devoted itself largely to theatrical happenings. In some ways the paper was the precursor of *Punch*, with which the young editor was afterwards to be so long connected. Gilbert was his own dramatic critic in his early publication and lashed vigorously at plays, players and playhouses. There came a time when his lashings were returned in print by rival journalists and in public by corporal punishment from an insensed actor. But nothing quelled à Beckett and in *Figaro in London* he penned a notice of his play *The King Incog* given at the Fitzroy Theatre, as the Queen's was called in 1834. The notice, in the nature of an epitaph, read :

" Commenced on Friday,
Finished on Saturday,
Copied by Monday,
Parts distributed on Tuesday,
Acted on Thursday,
For what we know,
Dead and d——d by Friday."

and the writer added : " It would be poor philosophy in us not to bear a laugh at our own expense when we indulge in so many at the expense of others."

Ten years later, the author of *The King Incog* collaborated with Mark Lemon in a number of plays, mostly of a burlesque character. Expansive and genial Lemon was another of Dickens's close friends. In addition to contributing some sixty dramatic works to the London stage, he was for a long time editor of *Punch*. But it was Mark's hobby which was the big bond between him and Charles. That hobby was acting. The editor of *Punch* was one of the distinguished Amateurs whose activities were dominated by Dickens. They were to appear together in a number of performances with literary all-star casts for Benefits and other important occasions organised by those Amateurs. In *Every Man in his Humour*, Lemon was Brainworm to the Captain Bobadil of Dickens ; and in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, the latter was Justice Shallow to his Sir John Falstaff, a part for which the player needed no padding. All in all, Mark Lemon was a man after Dickens's own heart.

The work of dramatising *The Chimes* was begun, the collaborators intent on preparing the piece for the coming Christmas Season at the Adelphi. Their task was greatly facilitated by the fact they received proof-sheets of the story in advance of the actual date of its publication. An amount of time was thereby gained by à Beckett and Lemon over the hacks waiting like ghouls for the printed text to be issued to the public. The first night was announced for Thursday, December 19th, 1844, but so well prepared were rehearsals that the occasion was advanced twenty-four hours. The initial performance of *The Chimes ; a Goblin Story of some Bells that rang the Old Year out and the New Year in*, described as a drama in four quarters, was given on Wednesday, December 18th, only two days after the publication of the book.

The à Beckett-Lemon adaptation began with a Prologue spoken by Ellen Chaplin as the Spirit of the Chimes. In doggerel rhymes were explained the regrets of Toby Veck for the good old days and the lesson he was to learn from the Chimes. The play proper followed and, despite the couplets of the Prologue, it was not always easy to know which part applied to Toby awake and which to Toby dreaming. That all-important character was allotted to O. Smith. Such casting might

seem curious. The innate simplicity of the old ticket-porter would appear at variance with the physique and manner of that actor. Yet, from all accounts, he played the part well enough and with complete understanding. There was probably no really suitable member of the Adelphi Company for Trotty, as Toby Veck was nick-named from the pace of his gait. The Christian name of Smith incidentally happened to be Richard. When a young man he scored a big success in the mime-drama of *Three-Fingered Jack* as the black desperado, Obi. From this character he was called O. Smith, and O. Smith he remained ever afterwards. For twenty-six years the player remained attached to the Adelphi Theatre, playing villain after villain in the countless melodramas given there. Tall, with a rumbling, sepulchral voice and piercing eyes, O. Smith could be a terrifying figure on the stage. In real life, he was one of the mildest and most easy-going of men.

Others in *The Chimes* at the Adelphi were Miss Fortescue as Meggy Veck, Mrs. Frank Matthews as Mrs. Chickenstalker and Edward Wright as Alderman Cute. The last-mentioned was the leading comedian at the theatre and might have expected to be cast for Trotty—but, no, he was pre-eminently a farceur. If a choice had to be made between Smith and Wright, then better the first. An amount of pathos was demanded in the scenes where Trotty figured and Wright had nothing of pathos in his stage equipment. To continue with the *Dramatis Personae* : Tugby was played by J. P. Wilkinson, already seen in a number of plays from Dickens ; Richard by Charles Selby, himself one of Boz's adaptors ; and Filer by Lambert. James Hudson, very much at home in Irish rôles, was out of his medium as Will Fern, while Paul Bedford could only be his burly inanimate self as Sir Joseph Bowley. Worrell gave utterance to the Goblin of the Bell with a number of lesser goblins in jibbering attendance. The production, which alternated between lengthy duologues and spectacular effects, attracted good audiences, although the pantomime of *The Cat's Castle ; or Harlequin and the King of the Rats* placed in the bill with *The Chimes* on Boxing Day may have been responsible for some of the attendance.

Meanwhile the never-idle Edward Stirling had been continuing his occupation as Dickens adapter, with or without the consent of the master. He had set to work on the tale immediately it came out and his version, *The Chimes ; or a Goblin Story*, hastily put together, was produced on December 26th, 1844, at the Lyceum, where Mr. and Mrs. Keeley were in management. Sleepy Robert, as Keeley had been called, appeared as Trotty Veck and it might well be that this very quality of somnambulance coloured his performance in the dream sequence. Keeley had his moments as a comedian but it was his very alert and wide-awake wife, Mary Anne, who was the more talented of these marital and theatrical partners. There was no part for her in *The Chimes* though, be it remembered, she had played Smike, and Oliver as well as Bailey in *Martin Chuzzlewit*. Richard was played by Fred Vining at the Lyceum, Will Fern by Samuel Emery and Alderman Cute by Meadows, who it was suggested would have made an excellent Trotty Veck.

The little Strand Theatre, rarely failing to house a version of each Dickens story as it came along, announced a dramatisation of *The Chimes* by Charles Webb for the week of Christmas. But no more was heard of this dramatisation. It failed to materialise ; perhaps because the work of adaptation was not completed in time or, as is more likely, the none-too-prosperous management feared to face the expense involved in mounting a new production where scenery and effects had to compete with those at the Adelphi across the road. In place of *The Chimes* the Strand fell back on a revival of *A Christmas Carol*, the Webb version given there a year previously. However, the dramatisation of

The Chimes announced for the Queen's Theatre in Tottenham Street, though delayed to January 6th, 1845, duly reached production. There was little to recommend this piece other than that the source of it was Dickens. It was brought to the stage by a Miss Mellon —not Harriett, the actress of that name, who became the Duchess of St. Albans.

All the productions mentioned were at what were termed the Minor Theatres. With the Patent Theatres Act of 1843, these houses obtained full official recognition and now stood on equal terms with the Theatres Royal of London ; Drury Lane, Covent Garden and the Haymarket. A number of additional playhouses, minor Minors, as it were, came into existence about this time under benefit of the new Act. The beginnings of several were in the Saloons. Often a Hall attached to a public house provided musical and dramatic entertainment as well as liquid refreshment ; and from some of the Halls developed temporary or permanent playhouses, which by virtue of the fare offered would be under the eye of the Lord Chamberlain. They were lesser theatres it is true but legal. Below them were still others, illegal, transient and in the nature of gaffs, penny or otherwise, where melodramas were extemporised and *Hamlet* or *Richard III* reduced to a twenty-minute tragedy, if not a burlesque.

The year 1844 saw the Albert, the Apollo and the Grecian Saloons functioning in the dramatic field. A slightly older establishment was the Bower Saloon ; or, as it was more generally designated in the neighbourhood of Westminster, where it stood, the " Sour Balloon." The records of these lost theatres are scant. It may be that many a Dickens drama was delivered on their boards and, as often as not, it might be a re-vamped edition of one originally given in a theatre of greater repute. As for the penny gaffs, they too, we may conjecture, showed snippets and abridgements distorted from Boz.

In January, 1845, the Albert Saloon gave *The Chimes*, adapted by Samuel Atkyns who, himself, played Trotty Veck. The same month brought a short and sweet version by Edward Edwards, *The Chimes ; a Goblin Story of Old Church Bells*, to the Apollo Saloon, a ghost-like playhouse, so little is known about its life. Edwards seems to have been engaged in a managerial flutter there. Afterwards he changed his name to Giovannelli and became a more recognised impresario, one of his ventures being at Highbury Barn where, in 1865, he built the Alexandra Theatre, the first to be so called.

A play called *The Chimes ; or The Broken Heart* was given in the 'sixties at the Victoria Theatre, and the same title-combination was used for offerings at the Effingham and Britannia Theatres. They were not in any way related to the Dickens story, being, in fact, dramas founded on a serial in *Bow Bells*, a popular weekly journal devoted to the white virtue and black vice of the Victorian novelette.

It was not until December 26th, 1872, that Boz's lovable ticket-porter returned to a central theatre in London and then his home was at the Gaiety where *Trotty Veck*, adapted by Mrs. Charles Calvert, was produced. The piece followed a pattern almost identical with the early version at the Adelphi. The four acts were reduced to two but the sequence of scenes and the placing of Trotty's dream copied the arrangement in the à Beckett-Lemon work. There was also a Spirit of the Chimes to explain the course of events. Mrs. Calvert, who had contrived the play for John Lawrence Toole, spoke bitterly about its staging at the Gaiety. The scenery was old and the costumes used. In particular she complained that the Spirit of the Chimes described in her MS. as " A Young Girl, with long golden hair, dressed in a soft flowing robe of white, upon the hem of which the hours were embroidered in black " materialised in a bouncing lady (Miss F. Jocelyn), wearing a dress of pink satin, a garment that had seen service through the long

run of a classical burlesque. The big note of approval by Mrs. Calvert was for the performance of Toole as Trotty, which, despite the stage incongruities, completely gained the sympathies of the audience. Will Fern was played by Alfred Bishop, Richard by H. E. Teesdale, and Meggy Veck by Miss M. Cooper. Lilian Fern at the age of nine was portrayed by Miss Butler and at the age of eighteen, it is interesting to note, by Fanny Brough.

Five weeks after Toole's appearance as Trotty at the Gaiety, Arthur Williams, a comedian equally to be associated with a long range of Dickens's characters, was seen in the rôle. The version in one act he prepared for himself, and it was given at the Pavilion Theatre in Whitechapel on February 3rd, 1873, as *The Christmas Chimes ; or, Trotty Veck's Dream*. The East End, in those days, was theatrically prosperous, perhaps more so than the West End.

There remains to chronicle a version of *The Chimes* by E. Clarence Boielle, an enthusiast who treated the residents of the Channel Islands to various Dickens dramatisations. This was first given at the Oddfellow's Hall in Jersey on January 15th, 1910, but seems never to have reached England.

In America the story had only a brief career on the stage. What should have been the first hearing suffered a fate similar to that which befell the promised version at the Strand already noted. The Chatham Theatre in New York announced an adaptation of *The Chimes* to be produced during February, 1845. A heavy snowstorm prevented the establishment from opening for several days that month. The schedule of performances was disturbed and, when the theatre was itself again, nothing more was said about the adaptation. It had vanished in the snow.

Actually, *The Chimes* had its first production in the United States at Peale's Museum, Philadelphia, May 11th, 1846. Two years elapsed before a dramatisation was given in New York at the New National Theatre on June 11th, 1848. Charles Burke, a clever character actor, played Trotty, but the piece was not a success, lasting only three performances. After which, there is little more to record of *The Chimes* in America.

Forty-six years ago, Arthur W. à Beckett, the son of Gilbert Abbott à Beckett, contributed an article to *The Dickensian* about the play written for the Adelphi by his father and Mark Lemon. Describing that far away production, Arthur confessed he had the task in hand of putting the story of *The Chimes* into dramatic form once more. Here was a promise rather like some of the others. Looking back on stage history, it must be admitted, none of the plays made from *The Chimes* achieved any real vogue in the theatre. The bells that gave comfort to Toby Veck gave only cold comfort to successive audiences attending the different productions. The charm of the tale proved of too fragile a nature to bear transplanting to a playhouse. And that may be the reason why the version promised by Gilbert's son never reached performance.

THE BOOK OF THE YEAR

The following books have been selected for special study in The Dickens Fellowship :

Season, 1951-52

HARD TIMES and *THE UNCOMMERCIAL TRAVELLER*

Season, 1952-53

THE PICKWICK PAPERS

POE AND DICKENS

By Leo Mason

IN a comprehensive article on Poe and Dickens, published in *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 1950), Professor Gerald G. Grubb in going over the ground covered by the present writer in *The Dickensian* (Nos. 254-5, 1940; 265, 1942; 278, 1946) contributes some interesting additional excerpts from Poe's critiques on Dickens's works, and analyses and reviews statements of writers who have made reference to Poe-Dickens items of literary interest. A letter from Dickens to James McCarroll (February 28th, 1862) is full of interest in that it proves that Dickens *did* try to find an English publisher for Poe. "My influence with publishers," writes Dickens, "is wholly personal and does not extend beyond my own productions . . . to the best of my remembrance the last trial I made . . . was on behalf of Mr. Edgar Allan Poe . . . It failed, and I have for many years relinquished the ungracious office in which I always fared so ill."

After the appearance of Dickens's *American Notes* in America at the close of 1842, a pamphlet was published in Boston entitled "English Notes" and signed with the pseudonym "Quarles Quickens," also in the same month of December a review of *American Notes* appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* under the pseudonym "Q.Q.Q." During the last thirty years speculation has existed as to the authorship of these two reviews. Some writers have claimed that they were the work of Poe. Mr. Grubb, after sifting a great deal of evidence, points to the conclusion that Poe could not have written either of them.

It is strange, however, that Mr. Grubb does not appear to have been aware of the full text of a letter from Dickens to Professor Felton and has been misled into stating: "In all his [Dickens] later references to Poe there is an undertone of respect and even of sympathy. In a letter to Professor C. C. Felton (December 31st, 1842), Dickens says, 'The American book is a complete success—and it has won golden opinions from all, except our friend in F——[as Miss Phillips remarks, undoubtedly a type error for P——, meaning Philadelphia] who is a miserable creature; a disappointed man in great poverty, to whom I have ever been most kind and considerate and another friend'." Miss Phillips gave the truncated letter an entirely wrong association, which J. A. T. Lloyd repeated in *The Murder of Edgar Allan Poe* (Stanley Paul & Co), 1931—namely, that the above passage referred to Poe.

In my article in *The Dickensian* (1940), I stated that, "On the appearance of *American Notes*, in America, Poe is thought to have replied to Dickens's attack in a pamphlet published in Boston under the pen-name of Quarles Quickens, but the authenticity of this has not been substantiated. On 31st December, 1842, however, Dickens in a letter to his American friend, Professor Felton, comments, 'The American book has been a most complete and thorough-going success. Four large editions have now been sold and paid for, and it has won golden opinions from all sorts of men, except our friend in F——, who is a miserable creature; a disappointed man in great poverty; to whom I have ever been most kind and considerate (I need scarcely say that); and another friend in B——, no less a person than an illustrious gentleman named —— who wrote a story called ——. They have done no harm, and have fallen short of their mark, which, of course, was to annoy me.' The absence of names in the letter prevents any definite conclusion being arrived at; various authorities have expressed the opinion that 'the friend in B——' may have been Poe, but the true facts of the case would appear to be that Dickens was referring to the writers of two hostile reviews which had been published in *Frazer's*

and *Blackwood's Magazines* respectively. Poe's nom de plume was Quarles ; the writer of the Blackwood article signed himself Q.Q.Q., but there is nothing else to suggest that it was the work of Poe."

In the March, 1951, number of *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, Professor Ada B. Nisbet in her article " New Light on the Dickens-Poe Relationship " reveals a very important discovery which proves my own deductions to have been correct. Professor Nisbet by turning up the original Dickens-Felton letter in the Huntington Library Collection is also able to reveal that the " illustrious gentleman " referred to by Dickens was Samuel Warren, who wrote a story called " Ten Thousand a Year." In addition, in a footnote to her article it is stated that final and positive proof for the Warren authorship of the *Blackwood* review is to be found in Mrs. Oliphant's *Annals of a Publishing House, William Blackwood and His Sons* (Edinburgh and London, 1897), where there is reference to correspondence which passed between Warren and John Blackwood, in which the former offered to write a review of *American Notes* and which did appear in *Blackwood's* under Warren's pseudonym Q.Q.Q. Thus, by a single stroke, Professor Nisbet has settled once and for all that Poe was not the author of the review. It is difficult to believe that anyone possessing the slightest knowledge of Poe's style could have thought it was from his pen. It is still more difficult to understand why the evidence so recently placed before us had not been forthcoming years ago. Professor Nisbet offers some plausible evidence in support of her opinion that " English Notes " was the work of a Boston journalist named Samuel Kettell, and also points out the possibility of Poe being the author of a review of *American Notes* in *The Southern Literary Messenger* for January, 1843. Perusing excerpts from the review some years ago I came to the conclusion that there was very little, if anything, to indicate that it was the work of Poe.

In the interests of clarity and simplification there are a few points in Professor Grubb's article that should be elucidated.

J. H. Ingram is quoted as stating : " Poe said that his review (*Barnaby Rudge*) drew from Dickens a letter of admiring acknowledgement," and Hervey Allen* is quoted as stating " that Poe's powers of deduction caused Dickens to exclaim ' that the man must be a devil '." In " More about Poe and Dickens " (*The Dickensian*, No. 265, 1942) I judged the above statement " to be a flight of fancy on the part of the biographer " because of the following. In his " final work " (*Edgar Allan Poe—His Life, Letters and Opinions*, by John H. Ingram, 2 Vols., London : John Hogg, Paternoster Row, 1880), Ingram does *not* state that Poe *said* that he had received a letter of admiring acknowledgement from Dickens, but commenting on Poe's *prospective* review, he says, " In this review the poet explained with mathematical exactitude what should be the plot of the as-yet-unwritten story, and the correctness of his solution drew from Dickens a letter of flattering acknowledgement, in which he inquired whether Mr. Poe had dealings with the Devil. Alluding to the poet's wonderful analysis of his plot, Dickens says, ' By the way, are you aware that Godwin wrote *Caleb Williams* backwards ? He first involved his hero in a web of difficulties, forming the second volume, and then, for the first, cast about him for some mode of accounting for what had been done '."

It is obvious that Ingram was unaware of Dickens's letter to Poe (March 6th, 1842) and jumped to the conclusion that Poe's paraphrase of it in his " Philosophy of Composition," was, in fact, part of the actual text of a letter Poe had received from Dickens appertaining to Poe's *prospective* review of *Barnaby Rudge*, which, of course, it was not. Neither does Ingram appear to have known that Poe and Dickens met and conversed together.

* *Israfel*, 1927.

Moreover, Poe's solution could not have been in the main more incorrect, and is not at all likely to have produced Dickens's " flattering acknowledgement."

Incidentally, William F. Gill (*Life of Poe*, 1877), who claimed that Ingram's memoir of 1874 was mostly based on his (Gill's) lecture, " The Romance of E.A.P.," written in the summer of 1873, states : " In May, 1841, appeared in the *Saturday Evening Post* of Philadelphia, Poe's celebrated prophetic analysis of Dickens's *Barnaby Rudge*. From the initial chapters of the story, Poe deduced the entire plot and predicted the actual dénouement.

" Dickens, in his first visit to America, took occasion admiringly to confirm the entire accuracy of the poet's analysis." Perhaps Gill cribbed the above from Ingram's memoir and toned down the statement a little.

A reason is also sought for Dickens's " Apropos " of the " construction " of *Caleb Williams* (letter, March 6th, 1842). I think the obvious and simple explanation is, that Dickens was prompted by nothing else than Poe's remarks at the end of his second review (Graham's) : " *Caleb Williams* is a far less noble work than *The Old Curiosity Shop* ; but Mr. Dickens could no more have *constructed* the one than Mr. Godwin could have dreamed of the other." This being accepted, it is reasonable proof that " the papers to which you call my attention " mentioned by Dickens, were Poe's reviews of *Barnaby Rudge* and it is possible that they were actual copies of the *Saturday Evening Post* and *Graham's Magazine*.

Dickens may also have been referring to the contents of the reviews when he wrote,* " I am really indebted for a good broad grin to PE, literary critic of Philadelphia, and sole proprietor of the English language in its grammatical and idiomatic purity ; to PE, with the shiny, straight hair and turned-down shirt collar, who taketh all of us English men of letters to task in print, soundly and uncompromisingly, but told me at the same time that I had ' awakened a new era ' in his mind." This might very well apply to Poe's remarks in his second review (Graham's) : " Mr. Dickens's English is usually pure. His most remarkable error is that of employing the adverb ' directly ' in the sense of ' as soon as.' For example, ' Directly he arrived, Rudge said,' etc. Bulwer is uniformly guilty of the same blunder. It is observable that so original a stylist as our author should occasionally lapse into a gross imitation of what, itself, is a gross imitation. We mean the manner of Lamb—a manner based on the Latin construction." In the first review (*Saturday Evening Post*) Poe commented on Dickens's works as being " books which have formed an era in the reading of every man of genius."

Regarding the letter that Poe wrote to Dickens at New York and to which the latter referred in his letter to Poe (November 27th, 1842) I do not think that there are any grounds for conjecturing that " Poe became impatient " and wrote Dickens " what seems to have been an admonitory letter." Neither is there anything to suggest that " Poe became anxious for results," before Dickens had arrived back in England, regarding the latter's promise to try and find him an English publisher.

Dickens sailed from New York early in June, 1842, and my statement in " More about Poe and Dickens " (*The Dickensian*, No. 265, 1942), is, I think, much more legitimate : " Some three months later, on the eve of his departure from America, Dickens received a letter from Poe in which he, no doubt, bade farewell to the English novelist and begged him not to forget his promise."

* Letter to Forster, April 15th, 1842. See Forster, Bk. III, Ch. VI, and Hesketh Pearson, p. 113.

It may also be noted that a letter, February 23rd, 1841, from Dickens to John Tomlin of Tennessee is reproduced in "Letters," 1882; ed. M. Dickens and G. Hogarth, with the comment that it was published in an American magazine edited by Mr. Edgar Poe in 1842.

With further reference to my comments (*The Dickensian*, No. 293, 1949) on *The Picnic Papers* and Joseph C. Neal's "Charcoal Sketches," I should like to add the following suggestion that Colburn bought the material supplied by Dickens for a round sum of £300, as a speculation, and paid over the money on receipt of Dickens's story ("The Lamplighter"). He then proceeded to publish the items supplied by Dickens, plus other matter provided by himself, in such a form as would bring him a profit on his outlay. In so doing, he became, in the eyes of Dickens, "a sneaking vagabond" who was exploiting for his own private gain, something to which Dickens had lent his name and which had been originally conceived as a work of charity.

Colburn pirated Neal's "Charcoal Sketches," but possibly did not come out of the venture so well as he had planned to do, because R. Shelton Mackenzie (*Life of Dickens*, 1870) says, "Neal . . . claimed his own, and, I believe, received some compensation." The foregoing is based on Dickens's remarks in his letter to Edmund Yates (March 29th, 1859), "'The Pic-Nic Papers' were originally *sold* to Colburn, for the benefit of the widow of Mr. Macrone . . . Mr. Colburn, wanting three volumes . . . *for trade purposes*, added a third, etc." (*Italics mine.*)

NOTES ON
Sketches by Boz

By T. W. Hill

Continued from page 158

VIII—The Mistaken Milliner. A Tale of Ambition.
(Originally called "The Vocal Dress-Maker" in *Bell's Life* November 22nd, 1835)

1. TWO-PAIR FRONT. An abbreviation of "front-room up two pairs of stairs." The same as second-floor front as it is called at the end of the same paragraph. The same description is given of Mr. Pecksniff's studio in *Martin Chuzzlewit*.

2. HOUSE—FOUR BEAUTIFUL ROOMS ETC. There are whole streets of this type of dwelling in Somers Town. The Dickens home in 1823, in Bayham Street had four rooms and basement, and a garret.

3. GIRL TUMBLING OVER A STILE ETC. The Dickensian spice of humour at the expense of the mantle-piece china ornaments; a few specimens still survive. Their owners value them, and so do curio hunters.

4. WHITE CONDUIT. A place of entertainment in Penton Street, Pentonville, so called from the old white stone water conduit that was erected in 1649 to supply the Charterhouse. It was destroyed in 1831 and the house demolished in 1849; its site is marked by a public house of the same name.

5. RED RUFFIAN RETIRE! If this is a fictitious title it is a capital parody of the kind of song heard in melodrama.

6. ONE OF THE PATENT THEATRES. At the period of this Sketch only three London theatres held a licence under royal patent to present regular plays: Drury Lane, Covent Garden and (in summer) the Haymarket. In 1843 an Act of Parliament established practically free trade in theatricals.

7. SIGNORA MARRA BONI. A facetious rendering of Marrow-bone, no doubt inspired by the marrow-bones and cleavers of butchers' nuptials.

8. TUNES ON A WALKING STICK. A trick that requires a little skill and some practice, but not difficult to acquire. Notes if not music, can be extracted from all sorts of objects (in Tales VII Mr. Hardy played airs on his chin); the latest craze is for solos on a carpenter's saw the tones of which are said by admirers to resemble those of a violin.

9. BRIGHT BASKET BUTTONS. Fashionable with smart sporting people, these metal buttons were large and were impressed with a pattern simulating

woven wicker-work. In *Pickwick Papers*, the man who aspired to be the husband of the landlady who married Tom Smart wore a brown coat and bright basket buttons; he had also black whiskers and wavy black hair.

10. I AM A FRIAR. A still popular song with words by J. O'Keeffe and music by W. Reeves (1795).

11. THE TIME OF DAY. A comic duet of which the first verse runs:

"I came up to town scarce six months ago
An awkward country clown, but now, sir, quite a beau;
I did but walk about to hear what folks should say
And egad I soon found out what was the time of day.
Too ral loo ral loo."

It was very popular at Vauxhall Gardens, and the full version can be found, if necessary, in *London Oddities* (1822).

IX—The Dancing Academy
(*Bell's Life*, October 11th, 1835)

This amusing skit, amateurish and shewing many signs of immaturity in the writer, is nevertheless only a prelude to the surer touch when Dickens came to describe the ball at the "Bull" in *Pickwick Papers*, and the masterly account of Prince Turveydrop's Academy in *Bleak House*; the breaking-up party at Dr. Blimber's School in *Dombey and Son* also shews how Dickens's genius matured.

1. SPRING GARDENS, NEWMAN STREET, ETC. London has not in essentials altered very much. Spring Gardens has, it is true, been given over to public offices, and Gray's Inn Lane (now road) has been commercialised, but all the other streets mentioned in the text still have associations with dancing, music, and other forms of entertainment.

2. UNSTAMPED. Until 1833 all official and public advertisements were subject to duty, and bore a stamp to shew that the duty had been paid. The private advertisement seen by Augustus Cooper was an ordinary placard or poster, and needed no stamp; it was exhibited by a sandwich-boy.

3. A LITTLE MONEY. This alliterative trick became nearly a mannerism with Dickens and was repeated many times in later books.

4. HORNPIPE IN PRIVATE SOCIETY. As a solo dance in the family circle the hornpipe has disappeared, but it remained fashionable till about 1870.

5. SHOES TIED WITH SANDALS. (See Scenes XX, note 19).

6. FARINAGHOLKAJINGO. A Dickens jumble, perhaps reminiscent of the "lingo" he invented as a boy at school. Another instance is in the *Mudfog Papers* where it is proposed to allocate a pony to the family Fitfordogsmeat-aurious; in *Bleak House* the debilitated Dedlock cousin says that Lady Macbeth *will* getoutofbedandbawthstablishment.

X—Shabby-Genteel People
(Specially writen for the First Collected Edition, 1836)

1. SEEN BETTER DAYS. A consolation for present discomforts that comes down from the time of Shakespeare:

"Let's shake our heads and say
As 'twere a knell unto our wasted fortunes,
We have seen better days."
(Timon of Athens, act IV, sc. 2).

Scott opens the lay of the *Last Minstrel* thus:

"The way was long, the wind was cold,
The minstrel was infirm and old;
His withered cheek and tresses grey
Seemed to have known a better day."

2. NEITHER A PHILOSOPHER NOR A POLITICAL ECONOMIST. An early instance of Dickens's impatience with the school of Fact, fact, fact, that came to such a climax in his letter to Charles Knight with reference to the purpose of *Hard Times*: "My satire is against those who see figures and averages and nothing else."

3. SCOTT SPEAKS IN HIS DEMONOLOGY, ETC. Here is an abridgment from Scott's "Letters on Demonology and Witchcraft, addressed to J. G. Lockhart, Esq.", contributed to the first number of Murray's Family Library, 1830.

"... a man of unusual steadiness, good sense, and integrity," during a period of sickness, depression of spirits suffered "the presence of a persecuting vision, sometimes of a large cat which came and disappeared I cannot exactly

tell how," which in the course of a few months was "succeeded by a spectre of a more important sort, or which at least had a more imposing appearance. This was no other than the apparition of a gentleman-usher, dressed as if to wait upon a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a Lord High Commissioner of the Kirk . . . arrayed in court dress, with bag and sword, tamboured waistcoat and chapeaubras, glided beside me like the ghost of Beau Nash . . . I alone [among the assembled company] was sensible of the visionary honour which this imaginary being seemed desirous to render me." This vision was succeeded by that of a skeleton, and the sufferer afterwards died, killed by the power of imagination. (Let. I).

4. READING ROOM AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM. This was in the first Museum building, formerly Montague House. The present handsome and commodious domed Reading Room was not opened till 1857; it houses nearly 80,000 volumes.

5. MAKING A NIGHT OF IT. A now well-known saying for devoting the whole night, or at least till the small hours, to one object, generally on pleasure bent, seems to originate in Hamlet: "Doth make the night joint labourer with the day" (act 1, sc. I). A cognate saying is "turning night into day."

6. AT CAMDEN TOWN . . . NEAR THE CANAL. The canal is the Grand Junction Canal and the area is again in the vicinity of Bayham Street (see Characters VIII, note 2). Much of this area was not built upon in Dickens's time.

XI—Making a Night of It
(*Bell's Life*, October 18th, 1835)

1. DAMON AND PYTHIAS. Inseparable friends. When Pythias (Phintias) was condemned to death by Dionysius I, Tyrant of Syracuse (B.C. 405-367), Damon stood surety for him and Pythias arrived just in time on the day of execution to redeem Damon. Pythias was thereupon pardoned.

2. SLAP-BANG. As an adjective this means precipitately, without delay, or headlong. As a noun it was the slang term for an eating-house where the meals were served speedily and the bill had to be paid forthwith—no credit was given.

3. ODD TENPENCE FOR THE WAITER. Not a dear meal even taking into consideration the great purchasing power of money in those days compared with ours; a goodly proportion of the 12*s*. 2*d*. must be put down to the successive "goes" of whisky and the cigars that succeeded the chops and kidneys.

4. HALF PRICE TO THE SLIPS. The slips is properly that part of a stage from which the side scenery is slipped into place, and where the actors stand awaiting their cue to go on. The context shews that the two friends occupied a box; it must have been a stage-box overlooking the "apron" contiguous with the slips but in front of the curtain.

5. CITY THEATRE. The City of London Theatre was in Norton Folgate; it had been only newly opened when the friends patronised it. Melodrama and pantomime were its specialities and the prices ranged from boxes at 2/- a seat, pit 1/- to gallery 6d. Half-price to the boxes only at half-past eight o'clock. The theatre was closed in 1865 and soon afterwards demolished but the facade remained till about 1925.

6. PRECINCTS OF MILTON STREET. This street leads from Fore Street to Chiswell Street. Up to 1829 it was known as Grub Street said by Johnston to be "much inhabited by writers of small histories, dictionaries, and temporary poems."

7. PATENT BRAMAHS. A lock invented by Joseph Bramah (1748-1814). The lock and the key were so adjusted that any one lock can be opened only by a particular key; hence the amusing reference to the friends after their night out "testing the influence of their patent bramahs." Tony Weller insisted on calling the key a Brahmin.

FOOTNOTE.—When Dickens was a junior clerk at Ellis and Blackmores he had a colleague named Potter. Is it possible that the Smithers of the Sketch stands for Dickens himself? And is the whole Sketch a reminiscence of one of their adventures?

XII—The Prisoners' Van
(*Bell's Life*, November 29th, 1835)

1. PRISONERS' VAN. The next generation later than the first readers of this Sketch gave this grim closely-shut vehicle the familiar title of "Black

Maria " a term first used in Philadelphia in 1838 and said to be taken from a negress, Maria, who kept a lodging house for seamen, and aided the authorities in dealing with refractory wrong-doers. The old huge black vehicle has given place to a neat inconspicuous dark blue " Police Van," although the old name is still sometimes applied to it.

2. NOT MORE THAN SIXTEEN. Comparatively children often received severe sentences. (See also Scenes XIV and XXV.)

3. STONE-JUG. Jug is said to be derived from the Scottish joug, a kind of pillory—an iron ring or collar fastened by a short chain to a wall ; hence a prison. A stone jug was a brick-built gaol and was thieves' slang for Newgate (Grose).

4. MILL. The treadmill. It is called the " wheels " in Scenes XVII.

5. MAN IN A PAPER CAP. A much more hygienic head dress for a craftsman than the modern ubiquitous cloth cap, as it was so easily and cheaply replaced when dirty.

6. COLD BATH FIELDS. A prison erected in 1794 near a cold spring at Clerkenwell. It was not closed till 1877, and Cold Bath Square now marks the site.

TALES

The selection of Tales that follow are all about the upper and lower middle-class that Dickens knew so well. The veneer of genteelness, the shifts to make both ends meet, the shades of caste, the worship of money and the expedients to hide the lack of it, the airs and graces of the women, the pettiness of the men, the match-making mammas, are all exposed and laughed at. In the preface written in 1847 Dickens is conscious of their " marks of haste and inexperience " and of their being the work of " a very young man," but they shew him as a clever short-story writer, and they foreshadow the surer power of narrative in the longer novels that followed. They are the first trial flights of the fledgling author and are full of promise for the attainments of the stronger-winged and fully feathered bird of Dickens's maturity.

I—THE BOARDING HOUSE
(Originally in two parts in the *Monthly Magazine* May and August, 1834)

1. MRS. TIBBS. The prototype for Mrs. Todgers in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, Mrs. Lirriper in *Christmas Stories*, and The Billickin in *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*.

2. GREAT CORAM STREET. Named after Captain Thomas Coram the founder of the Foundling Hospital that was built in 1745 close by. The street was then and has been ever since the home of many boarding houses.

3. MEAT-SAFE-LOOKING BLINDS. Commonly known as wire-blinds and allowing the entrance of light while preventing people outside looking in, they were much used on ground-floor rooms especially if there were no space between the house and the street pavement.

4. STAIR-WIRES. What we call stair-rods.

5. WANDERING JEW OF JOE MILLERISMS. A double allusion. A Joe Miller is a stock-joke or chestnut, and the Wandering Jew knew no rest.

6. NEVER SLEPT IN A FRENCH BED. French bedsteads are mentioned in Tales X (below) and in *The Uncommercial Traveller* chapter X and XXXII. " A roll-end bedstead without posts."

7. MUCH LINEN, LACE . . . From Canto I, stanza 143, of Byron's poem this is part of the store found by Don Juan in Julia's bedroom.

8. RICHARDSON'S SHOW. (See Scenes XII, note 14.)

9. WHAT WHISKERS, CHARMING. (See Scenes III, note 2.)

10. BARTELLOT'S WINDOW. Bartellot was a hairdresser at No. 254 Regent Street. Hairdressers still exhibit in their windows elaborately fashioned coiffures on wax-model heads.

11. POTATOES LIKE PETRIFACTIONS. This impression was evidently very vivid in Dickens's mind as it appears again in *The Old Curiosity Shop* when the Marchioness had for dinner " a dreary waste of cold potatoes looking as eatable as Stonehenge." Was it a reflection on his own home ?

12. PRODUCED RESPECTIVELY A BOTTLE OF SAUTERNE, BUCELLAS, AND SHERRY. The boarders provided their own intoxicants—as they do nowadays.

13. BUCELLAS. A Portuguese white wine resembling hock, produced from a special kind of grape cultivated at Bucellas, a village near Lisbon.

14. BUT BEEF IS RARE. From Don Juan, Canto II, stanzas 153-54 ; the account of the shipwreck :

> " . . . new fire which Zoe kept up, kneeling
> To stir her viands, made him quite awake
> And long for food, but chiefly a beef steak.
>
> But beef is rare within these oxless isles ;
> Goat's flesh there is, no doubt, and kid, and mutton . . . "

15. JULIA'S LETTER. In Canto I, stanzas 192-97. The letter concludes :

> " And I must even survive the last adieu
> And bear with life, to love and pray for you ! "

16. THE FIRE WORSHIPPERS. *Lalla Rookh*, Moore's longest work, is an Oriental tale divided into four romances in verse, linked together by prose narrative. The tales are :

1. The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan.
2. Paradise and the Peri.
3. The Fire Worshippers.
4. The Light of the Haram.

Paradise and the Peri is said by many of Moore's admirers to be the most beautiful poem he ever wrote.

17. DESCRIPTION OF THE SIEGE. This occurs in Canto VII et seq. and is worth quoting in part :

> " The fortress is called Ismail* and is placed
> Upon the Danube's left branch and left bank,
> With buildings in the Oriental taste,
> But still a fortress of the foremost rank,
> Or was at least, unless 'tis since defaced,
> Which with your conquerors is a common prank."

18. OH, POWERS OF HEAVEN. From Canto IV, stanza 35 :

> " And, starting, she awoke, and what to view ?
> Oh, Powers of Heaven—what dark eye meets she there ?
> 'Tis—'tis her father's—fixed upon the pair ! "

19. FAMILIARS OF THE INQUISITION. Veiled figures who tried to prompt the accused to confess to guilt in order to escape the torture.

20. MANTUA-MAKER. A dressmaker, such as Madame Mantalini in *Nicholas Nickleby*. Mantua is an obsolete term for mantle, cloak, or woman's frock. It seems to be a corruption of the French *manteau* confused with some association or connexion with the Italian town of Mantua.

21. TWOPENNY POSTMAN. This was of course before the introduction of the Penny Post in 1840. The local post for London, within ten miles of the General Post Office was twopence ; in other places it was at a higher rate. " A penny a knock " shews that the familiar " rat-tat " is not by any means modern. Other interesting details of the postal service will be found in the Notes to the *Pickwick Papers*.

22. LARGE RED WAFER. This was made of flour paste and when moistened would take the impress of a seal ; it was used to fasten the sheets of letters before the introduction of gummed envelopes.

23. NEW SAINT PANCRAS CHURCH. In the New (now Euston) Road. It was new then as it had been built in 1819-22.

24. THE FOUNDLING. The hospital for unwanted children was established in Hatton Garden in 1741 by Captain Coram (see note 2 above) and in 1745 was moved to a new and larger building in Lamb's Conduit Fields (now Guilford Street). The hospital had another—temporary—move in 1926 to Redhill and finally in 1935 to Berkhamsted. The site (quite close to the Dickens House) is now a recreation ground for children.

25. PAN'S PIPES. (See Scenes XV, note 11.)

26. SHOES WITH SANDALS. (See Scenes XX, note 19.)

27. WELLINGTON AS CHANCELLOR. As this Sketch was written in August, 1834 and the Duke's installation had taken place in January, the event would be fresh in readers' minds.

* Ismail is a Turkish fortress about fifty miles from the mouth of the Danube. The siege took place in 1790 when the Russian General Suvaroff destroyed it. In 1856 the fortifications were entirely razed, and the town is now in Russian territory.

28. THE LIGHT GUITAR. A song, words by H. S. Van Dyke and music by John Barnett. One verse runs :

"I'll tell thee how the maiden wept
When her true love was slain,
And how her broken spirit slept
Never to wake again ;
I'll tell thee how the steed drew nigh
And left his lord afar,
And if my tale should make thee sigh,
I'll strike the light guitar."

This song is one of those maltreated by Silas Wegg in *Our Mutual Friend*.

29. WOODS AND FORESTS. This office is now merged in that of the Commissioners of Crown Lands.

30. GOT FRANKS FOR EVERYBODY. (See Scenes XVIII, note 7.)

31. SHEPHERD'S PLAID. A tartan of black and white check.

32. REMINDED ONE OF ORSON. An uncultivated boor, like Orson in the fairy tale of Valentine and Orson, to which there are references also in *Barnaby Rudge*, chapter 15, *Martin Chuzzlewit*, chapter 22, and *A Christmas Carol*, chapter 2.

33. DI PIACER. At one time a favourite air from Rossini's opera La Gazza Ladra.

34. LIKE A NEBUCHADNEZZAR. That is with the avidity of that Jewish king when "he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen." (Daniel iv, 33).

35. MANDARIN IN A GROCER'S SHOP. Some of the larger and more important tea-merchants used to exhibit a yellow porcelain figure, often nearly life-size, of a Chinese Mandarin seated with folded arms, with the head balanced on two pins so that it nodded backwards and forwards. Small models might also be found for use as mantelpiece ornaments.

36. LINDLEY MURRAY. The author of the standard English Grammar in use through most of the nineteenth century. He was born in Pennsylvania in 1745, came to England in 1784, and died at Holgate, near York in 1826.

37. FLOW ON, THOU SHINING RIVER. One of Thomas Moore's National Melodies : "Portuguese Air." The best known setting is a duet by Sir J. A. Stevenson.

38. THE OBSEQUIOUS WOSKY. The first instance of Dickens's quiet fun at the expense of the family doctor who cultivates well-to-do patients who have not much the matter with them. Dr. Losberne in *Oliver Twist* and Dr. Chillip in *David Copperfield* also belong to the genus.

39. READING HORACE. Reading the classics for pleasure was not so uncommon then as Latin and often Greek were included in the curriculum of most schools.

40. CAPTAIN ROSS'S SET-OUT. An allusion probably to a temporary attraction (1834) at Vauxhall Gardens, called "The Polar Regions." Captain John Ross the artic explorer had in 1833 been knighted and was a popular hero.

41. BROUGHT IN THEIR SPIRIT BOTTLES. The wine mentioned in note 11 above had evidently all gone, so they drank spirits.

42. PLATED BEDROOM CANDLESTICKS. Plated means of course silver-plated but this would be unlikely in a boarding house ; these were probably of brass lacquered.

43. GHOST OF QUEEN ANNE. In Shakespeare's *King Richard the Third*, act V, scene III, the tents of King Richard and the Earl of Richmond are both pitched on the stage—at least that is the stage-direction—and the ghosts appear between the two tents.

44. PATENT MANGLE. This was probably the Baker's patent of which Jingle spoke at Mrs. Leo Hunter's *fête champêtre* in *Pickwick Papers* chapter XV. It consisted of a large box weighted with stones and placed over rollers that ran to and fro on a heavily-built wooden frame. Mr. Mantalini knew the working of it in *Nicholas Nickleby*, and so did Sloppy in *Our Mutual Friend*.

45. INSURED IN THE PHOENIX. Another reference to this Fire Office, now known as the Phoenix Assurance Company will be found in *Bleak House*, chapter 33.

46. I'LL GET UP THE CHIMNEY. The register would prevent this line of retreat as Mrs. Tibbs said. (See Scenes XX, note 13.)

47. BEAT ANY DOZEN WOODPECKERS HOLLOW. There may be a veiled allusion here to a song by T. Moore (music by M. Kelly) " The Woodpecker." Dickens later gave it to Wilkins Micawber junior to sing to show off his head-voice (*David Copperfield*); he allowed Mrs. Mould to make her only joke—a professional one -with it (*Martin Chuzzlewitt*); and Mr. Casby's assault on his breakfast egg brought it to mind in *Little Dorrit*.

48. THE DRAGON AT ASTLEY'S. No doubt in one of the equestrian dramas, and also no doubt with a man in each pair of legs.

49. NEWINGTON BUTTS. The street running south from the Elephant and Castle. The origin of its name is uncertain but it may be from an old archery ground.

50. MR. ROBINS. George Henry Robins (1778-1847). One of the best known names in the history of auctioneering. His Auction Mart was in Bartholomew Lane opposite the Bank of England. He was famed for his ready wit and repartee combined with the most persuasive eloquence; he once forced a lot from stagnation at £3,400 up to £5,850, and his advocacy resuscitated the fortunes of Covent Garden Theatre. It was said of him that he :

" Warmed his discourse till ear ne'er heard the like.
' Who is that eloquent man ? ' I asked one near ;
' That, Sir, that's Mr. Robins, auctioneer.' "

II—Mr. Minns and his Cousin
(*Monthly Magazine*, December, 1833)

This was Dickens's first appearance as an author. It had originally been called " A Sunday out of Town " but Dickens wrote to his friend Kolle that on publication the title would be " transmogrified " to " A Dinner at Poplar Walk " and so it appeared, but when the Sketches were collected the title was changed once more and it was included in the Second Series in Volume III with its present title.

1. OCTAVIUS BUDDEN. The surname was not uncommon in the Rochester and Chatham district, and Dickens probably drew it from his store of memories of his childhood. A Captain Budden owned Gad's Hill Place from 1879 to 1891; after Dickens's death.

2. TAVISTOCK STREET, COVENT GARDEN. The modern Civil Servant would not choose a first floor here as a residence.

3. POPLAR WALK, STAMFORD HILL. This place will not be found on the modern map—if it ever existed.

4. BACKGAMMON BOARD. A very good description of a dog's scratches resembling the narrow coloured triangles in the board used for the game. (See also Tales VII.)

5. FLOWER POT. At one time a well-known inn from which the Norwich coaches started; it was also a starting-place for short-stage coaches. It was situated by the junction of Leadenhall Street and Bishopgate, and was pulled down in 1866.

6. SWAN. No record seems to be available to fix the site of this stopping-place at Stamford Hill; anyway it has now disappeared.

7. HIGH-LOWS. What we call shoes as distinct from boots. Mr. Bung the candidate for the post of Beadle affected this kind of footwear; see Our Parish IV.

8. TO BE, TO DO, OR TO SUFFER. The definition of a verb in Lindley Murray's Grammar.

9. TAKE YOUR TIME FROM ME. The same formula as that used by the mottled-faced gentleman when the coachmen toasted Mr. Pell after his assistance in proving Mrs. Weller's will : " Hold hard there ; your eyes on me, genl'm'n." (*Pickwick Papers*, chapter LV).

10. NINE O'CLOCK STAGE CAME ROUND. It must have been a concession, due perhaps to the rural situation, for the coachman to leave his regular route to pick up a passenger. It must have been the last coach that night back to London, or Mr. Minns could have caught another at 9-30; Budden had said there was a half-hour service.

11. THREE O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING. Mr. Minns was certainly " by no means remarkable for speed " if he took over five hours to cover the five or six miles to the city and then two more to Tavistock Street, even if he were " cold, wet, cross, and miserable." Mr. Budden had walked the same distance —in fine weather—before breakfast-time—only three days before.

III—Sentiment
(Specially written for the First Collected Edition, 1836)

1. THE MISS CRUMPTONS. Dickens had a life-long obsession, of which this is the first example, for getting humour from maiden ladies who, for a livelihood, keep "establishments for young ladies." His humour is not unkindly; it is often sympathetic, but he could not resist the temptation to poke a little harmless fun at them. Further instances are to be found in *Pickwick Papers* (Eastgate House, Ipswich), in the *Old Curiosity Shop* (Miss Monflathers's Boarding and Day Establishment) and in the *Mystery of Edwin Drood* (Miss Twinkleton's Seminary for Young Ladies).

2. MUCH BUSTLE. The bustle was a pad made of crin, i.e., horse-hair, worn by women to puff out the skirt at the back. It was in fashion till 1855 when the crinoline was revived, but this time consisting of hoops of whalebone or steel instead of crin. This fashion subsided about 1865 or 1866 and the bustle, now a half-hoop of whalebone or wire, was re-introduced and lasted till nearly the end of the nineteenth century; it made its wearer assume an attitude known as the Grecian bend.

3. IMMENSE BUCKLE. A nice touch. Everything the villain in Melodrama wore was immense: immense broad-brimmed hat surmounted by immense feathers, immense shirt and wrist frills, immense belt fastened by immense buckle, immense jack-boots, immense flowing wig, and moustaches immense and fearsome.

4. L'ÉTÉ. The second "figure" of the Quadrilles. Quadrille is a "square set of contre-danses," that is dances in which those who participate are arranged in couples facing each other in a square. The full set of figures is as follows:

1. La Pantalon. From the tune to which it used to be danced.
2. L'été. From an old folk-dance called Pas d'été.
3. La Poule. From a contre-danse that began with an imitation of a cock-crow.
4. Trevise. From a dance invented about 1800 by a Monsieur Trevise.
5. La Pastourelle, sometimes known as "Flirtation Figure." Founded on a peasants' dance; the name means shepherd-girl.

5. RECOLLECTIONS OF IRELAND. A typical example of the Selections of Airs strung loosely together and connected by a few simple chords or cadences. They had no musical value either as works of art or as demanding any dexerity from the performer. (See also The Fall of Paris in Tales V.)

6. DUTY ON BEES'-WAX. This was abolished after 1847 when the list of articles upon which an excise duty was payable was drastically revised.

7. BALL'S POND. A district near Stoke Newington, taking its name from a pond, no longer existent, near a "Boarded House" kept by a John Ball nearly three hundred years ago. Dickens's description, correct though it is, no longer applies as the whole neighbourhood is now covered thickly with streets and houses.

8. CONTRACTED IN HASTE AND REPENTED AT LEISURE. There are many variants of this saying, generally sardonic, but the sentiment can be traced back to the sixteenth century. There is also a German proverb to the same effect. W. Congreve (1670-1729) in "The Double Dealer" twists it round: Sharper says: "Married in haste we may repent at leisure," and Setter counters with: "Some by experience find those words misplaced; at leisure married, they repent in haste."

IV—The Tuggses at Ramsgate
(*The Library of Fiction*, February, 1836)

[This Sketch appeared as the first article in the first number of the Library of Fiction and was published on the same day as the first number of the *Pickwick Papers*, March 31st, 1836. It was accompanied by two illustrations (woodcuts) by Robert Seymour who was occupied also on Pickwick. The title on the first appearance had the name of the grocer spelled Tuggs's, and this mistake was repeated in the first collected edition of *Sketches by Boz*].

1. THREE MINUTES' WALK OF OLD LONDON BRIDGE. As Mr. Joseph Tuggs kept a grocer's shop this may have been in Lant Street which Dickens had known as a lad; or, more probably, Union Road, formerly Horsemonger Lane in which at No. 5, Chivery's tobacconist's shop is suggested to have been, in *Little Dorrit*.

2. WEEKLY DORSET. Butter that reached the London market weekly from Dorsetshire. (See also Scenes II.)

3. CYMON. Small snobbery that always excited Dickens's satire. In *Martin Chuzzlewit*, chapter XXX, occurs this sentence: "love has shed refinements on innumerable Cymons." In *Our Mutual Friend*, book I, chapter II, Lady Tippins had "a rough Cymon" in her cupidon.

4. THE GRAND TOUR. Originally a French phrase meaning great circuit or round trip; later adopted as good English for a tour of the principal cities and places of interest in Europe, formerly considered to be an essential part of the education of a young man of good birth or fortune. The Grand Tour was generally through France and Switzerland to Italy, returning by way of Germany. It was usually undertaken with a tutor who was known facetiously as a bear-leader.

5. BE CALM, WALTER, I ENTREAT. The irascible man was to appear again in the *Pickwick Papers* in Mr. Dowler and also in Mr. Magnus.

6. FOURTEEN MEN AND SIX BOYS. Not an over-estimate of the number of fly-drivers who used to pester arrivals by train or boat at seaside resorts. It is evidently facetious.

7. FIVE GUINEAS A WEEK. In spite of Mrs. Tuggs's remark this was not "rather dear." Four people would require three bedrooms and a sitting room, and in addition cooking and probably attendance.

8. FLAT CANDLESTICK. The proper name of the familiar flat candle, so called. In the "Haunted House" the Christmas Number of *All the Year Round*, 1859, chapter V (not written by Dickens) occurs this sentence: "a bedroom candlestick and a candle, or a flat candlestick—put it which way you like." (See also Scenes XV, note 7.)

9. PATENT MACKINTOSH. The water-proofing of cloth by covering it with india-rubber was patented by Charles MacIntosh (1766-1843) of Glasgow. He was elected F.R.S. for this and his other discoveries and inventions. The introduction of the "k" places the accent in the pronunciation on the first instead of on the second syllable.

10. I AM ANOTHER'S. Very many times does Dickens use humorously this delicate description of the reason for a lover's unsuccessful wooing. It was especially prevalent during the early nineteenth century but is much older than that and it was not unknown to Shakespeare:

> "My lady is unkind . . . she loves another"
> (*Twelfth Night*, act IV, sc. II).

11. THERE WERE THE SAME LADIES. In *Pickwick Papers*, chapter XXXVI, this constant encounter with the same people is noticed at Bath, ending with the remark: "a very pleasant routine with perhaps a slight tinge of sameness."

12. ROWLAND'S MACASSAR OIL. Macassar is a district in the Celebes Islands in which the oil is extracted from two kinds of tree, the fruit of which yield 70 per cent. pure oil very suitable for dressing the hair. Rowland, by extensive advertisement made it popular and practically drove bear's grease off the market. Later preparations of "Macassar" oil are usually blends of other oils such as castor and olive.

13. CLOUDY BERLINS. Berlins were gloves knitted from Berlin wool; cloudy probably is a polite way of saying slightly soiled.

14. BID ME DISCOURSE. An aria by Sir H. R. Bishop (1786-1855) to words adapted from Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis." A favourite with coloratura sopranos.

15. BLOCKADE-MEN. The guard round the coast whose principal duty it was to prevent smuggling. From this body arose the Coast Guards.

(*To be continued*)

FANNY KELLY

THE long and extraordinary life of Fanny Kelly, the actress whose theatre was rented by Dickens to produce some of his most ambitious amateur theatricals, has been dealt with, briefly, in these pages (1942, p. 153) and more fully in *Lamb's Barbara S—*, by L. E. Holman. A biography was being planned by S. M. Ellis at the time of his death, but it never appeared. He already had a life of Fanny's uncle, Michael Kelly, to his credit Now comes an attractive and well-illustrated volume, *Fanny Kelly of Drury Lane*, by Basil Francis (Rockliff, 16s.).

The well known story of the love Fanny inspired in Charles Lamb is told again and told well, but for one reader at least, this book's chief value lies in the full and fascinating account of the triumphs of her hey-day at Drury Lane and elsewhere. "Well known," "popular," and other such epithets have frequently been bestowed upon her, but not till now, I think, has it been made clear what a commanding position on the stage she held at the height of her career. Here it all is in detail and no lover of London's wonderful theatrical history should miss it.

By the time Dickens met her she had left those triumphs behind her and, owing to the failure of the little theatre she had built in Dean Street, Soho, later known as the Royalty, which cost her her fortune, she had become difficult, not to say eccentric. Dickens's humorous description of her when negotiating for her theatre in which to produce *Every Man in his Humour*, couched in the phraseology of the braggadocio he was to play in that comedy, is well known and is quoted by Mr. Francis, who attributes Miss Kelly's apprehension to the nature of Ben Jonson's play and to Dickens's revisions of it. The basis for this opinion is not clear.

After these performances in 1845 the fortunes of the little playhouse and its unfortunate mistress steadily declined until, in 1853, Dickens agreed to organise a Benefit Performance for her at the St. James's Theatre. One of the reasons for the cancellation of this performance, writes Mr. Francis, was that Dickens had to relinquish his task owing to indisposition. The novelist had worked hard to assemble a noteworthy company, an influential committee, and the patronage of the Queen. Mr. Francis speaks of "some difficulty about obtaining the theatre," but when Dickens wrote to the celebrated French actor Régnier, asking him to appear in a French playlet at the Benefit, he adds that Mitchell, then manager of the St. James's, "like the brave garçon as he is, most willingly consents to your acting for us," which would not seem to indicate any unwillingness about the theatre itself. It appears to me that another and important reason for the abandonment of the project is revealed in the letter Dickens wrote to Miss Kelly, which was printed in the previously mentioned article in the *Dickensian* for 1942, but which Mr. Francis does not cite. The lady's temperamental behaviour had clearly driven Dickens to distraction and he remonstrates with her about it in this letter, in no uncertain terms.

We are chiefly concerned here with Dickens but I note in passing that while Mr. Holman stated that Miss Kelly accepted a Civil List Pension of £150 at the end of her life, Mr. Francis, supported by J. L. Toole, says that she refused it. And in this age of scandal it is refreshing to find Mr. Francis defending his heroine from the charge that Miss Greville, who shared her retirement, was Miss Kelly's daughter: a relationship which, as far as I know, had hitherto been generally accepted.

L.C.S.

MICHAEL SADLEIR'S XIXth-CENTURY BIBLIOGRAPHICAL CATALOGUE

To collectors of Dickens it is a misfortune that Mr. Michael Sadleir has not the interest and enthusiasm for that author that he has for Trollope. If he had, they might now possess a full bibliography of Dickens in the style of his masterly work on the creator of Barchester.

As his new work* is a catalogue based on his own collection, variant issues of the books not found there, apart from a few notable exceptions, are not recorded.

In the introductory paragraph to the section on Dickens, Mr. Sadleir states that it offers a complete series of Dickens 8vo fiction in cloth (except *Master Humphrey's Clock*). Dickens's works occupies five pages, to which is added another devoted to a full collation of the Monthly Part issue of *John Jasper's Secret*. Apart from the three-volume editions of *Oliver Twist* and *Sketches by Boz*, both of which are considered in some detail, brief descriptions only are given of the cloth bindings of the books, the collector being referred to the Morris L. Parrish Library bequeathed to the Princeton University where may be examined, he states, numerous variants not recorded elsewhere of first editions of Victorian novels.

In describing his copy of *Sketches by Boz*, 2nd series, first edition, Mr. Sadleir has interesting comments to make on the problem of the appearance of the " List of Illustrations " to follow the Contents, agreeing that its absence would seem to indicate an earlier, and perhaps suppressed, issue than that represented by his own copy, thus confirming the generally accepted opinion of Dickens and Cruikshank collectors.

Mr. Sadleir's list of comparative scarcities is interesting, and in providing it he has rendered a most useful service to Dickens collectors.

This report naturally covers only the work of Dickens. As a whole the catalogue is a masterly contribution to nineteenth-century bibliography and publishing history, recording a great deal of information, principally on the minor fiction of the time, and forming a fascinating and instructive account of the publishing methods of that day. An exhaustive review of the work appeared in *The Times Literary Supplement* for April 13th. F. S. B.

* *Nineteenth-Century Fiction, A Bibliographical Record, based on his own Collection*, by Michael Sadleir. 2 Vols., illus., 12 guineas. Constable.

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP

Branch Reports of not more than 200 words are invited for inclusion on this page. Press cuttings are not acceptable.

N.W. REGIONAL GROUP CONFERENCE

The flourishing N.W. Regional Group of the Dickens Fellowship held a very successful one-day Conference in Preston Town Hall, on Saturday, April 21st, 1951. Mrs. J. A. Wood (Preston) who presided, after extending a very cordial welcome to numerous members from all branches in the Group gave an entertaining address on " The Dickens World of 1851." The Group Officers reported a very satisfactory year. Inter-branch activities had been a prominent feature of the past session and had provided excellent opportunities for the interchange of views on Dickensian topics. Among many items discussed at the meeting, it was resolved that all branches in N.W. Group would do all in their power to continue full support of *The Dickensian Magazine* as in the past. The meeting was followed by High Tea, after which the delegates spent an interesting hour viewing an exhibition of objects displayed in the Harris Museum, which recalled the Great Exhibition of 1851. Mr. F. R. Dean (Manchester) seconded by Mr. W. J. Piper (Blackpool) expressed sincere thanks to the Chairman and Preston Branch for the excellent arrangements they had made for the Conference and Mrs. J. A. Wood (Chairman) and Mrs.

F. R. Cooper (Sec., Preston) responded. The following Officers were elected for season 1951-52 : Mrs. J. A. Wood (Preston), Chairman ; Miss Irene Howes (Liverpool), Vice-Chairman ; Mr. Leo Mason (Blackburn), Hon. Secretary ; Mr. G. H. Mackrell (Manchester), Hon. Treasurer ; Miss M. Fell (Blackburn), Chairman-elect (1952-53). L. M.

BLACKBURN BRANCH

Under the Presidency of Mr. John Lund, the Blackburn Branch concluded a very successful session with a day's outing to Appleby in June. Membership of the branch continues to increase and many members had contributed papers and dramatic sketches. Interchange of visits with other branches had been well maintained and the customary annual visit of a large party of Manchester members together with representatives of other branches once again provided a very enjoyable occasion for the interchange of ideas and hospitality. Miss Doris Minards, of the Dickens House, was a very welcome guest on this occasion. A Birthday Dinner and other social events further added to members enjoyment. The annual subscription has been maintained at 10/6, each member receives a copy of *The Dickensian* and light refreshments are served at all meetings. On the ordinary year's working the branch showed a clear profit of twelve pounds. In addition, through the efforts of the Social and Dramatic Committees the branch has covered its target contribution to the Dexter Memorial Fund. L.M.

OBITUARY

Charles Henry Green

To younger members of the Fellowship, Mr. C. H. Green, whose death at the age of 93 occurred on May 15th, as recorded in our last issue, will probably be but a name, but by older members he will be remembered for his unselfish and untiring devotion to the interests of the Fellowship, the success of which during his term of office, was primarily due to his activities. He was elected a member of Council when the Fellowship was reconstituted at the Rochester Conference in 1914 and appointed Hon. Secretary in 1920, the first to devote his whole time to the work. At the office at Clifford's Inn he received many visitors from home and overseas branches, whom he delighted to entertain and conduct on rambles round Dickens's London. Although a North Countryman, none was better acquainted with " The London that Dickens saw and described " than he, and his illustrated lecture bearing that title, given to Headquarters and various London branches, will long be remembered by those who heard it. During his five-year term of office, the Fellowship realised the long-cherished dream of the acquisition of the Dickens House and it fell to the lot of Mr. Green to transact the final negotiations for its transference to the Fellowship, as is related in some detail in *The Dickensian* for last March. He saw the fruition of his labours in the opening ceremony in June, 1925. At the Conference a few days later he finally relinquished the office he had adorned with so much distinction and success. He was most generous in giving the benefit of his experience, counsel, and advice to his successor in office. As a bibliographer and extra-illustrator his methods were models he was ever ready to share and explain, especially in the case of beginners. Mr. Seymour Marks, founder of the British Puppet and Model Theatre Guild, has sent me a tribute to his pioneer work in that field, which he pursued with the same devotion he brought to his study of Dickens. Our deepest sympathy goes out to Miss Green, whose solicitous and loving care of her father during his last years, we deeply appreciate. A.W.E.

We also regret to record the deaths of Mrs. J. W. Kimber and Mr. Y. W. Younger of Headquarters, and Mr. W. D. Lusty and Miss E. M. Stathan of Auckland, N.Z.

The thanks of the Dickens Fellowship are offered to the following new and retiring Hon. Secretaries :

Mrs. A. J. Whitford who succeeds Mrs. Mars at Marinette, Miss M. A. Cameron, who succeeds Mr. J. Sinton at Edinburgh, and Miss G. Weekes who succeeds Miss N. Richards at Wolverhampton.

A warm welcome to England is offered to Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Card of Toronto, and to Professor F. W. C. Hersey of Boston, Mass.

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP

Dr. Income and Expenditure Account for the Year ended 31st December, 1950. Cr.

1949.	Expenditure.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
95	To Rent (including Insurance, Lighting and Heating) and Rates	95 12 0	
550	,, Assistant Secretary's Salary ... £550 0 0		
275	*Less* Contribution by Dickens House 275 0 0		
— 275		275 0 0	
64	,, Printing and Stationery	53 10 6	
167	,, General Expenses and Postages	174 4 7	
601		598 7 1	
218	*Less* Amount charged to *The Dickensian* £218 6 9		
26	Amount charged to Costume Department ... 26 0 0		
— 244		244 6 9	
357			354 0 4
136	,, *The Dickensian* supplied to Headquarters' Members	122 18 2	
15	,, *The Dickensian* supplied to Branch Secretaries	14 11 4	
			137 9 6
24	,, Meetings		33 19 0
21	,, Contribution to Charitable Purposes Account		14 5 0
2	,, Depreciation of Library Pictures and Furniture		3 14 0
95	,, Balance being Excess of Income over Expenditure		78 17 2
£650			£622 5 0

1949.	Income.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	By Subscriptions—		
520	Headquarters' Members	496 4 10	
91	Branches...	82 15 9	
12	,, Interest on Investment of Life Membership Fund, less tax	12 2 0	
			591 2 7
10	,, Interest on Loan to Dickens House		10 0 0
17	,, Refund of Income Tax		21 2 5
£650			£622 5 0

THE DICKENS FELLOWSHIP.

BALANCE SHEET AS AT 31ST DECEMBER, 1950.

1949	LIABILITIES.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
2	Sundry Creditors		
	Life Membership Fund—		
575	As at 31st December, 1949		574 17 6
833	Special Reserve		833 7 6
	Costume Department Fund—		
	Balance as at 31st December, 1949	188 6 8	
	Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for year	53 11 5	
		241 18 1	
188	*Less* Donation to Dickens House Dexter Memorial Fund	100 0 0	
			141 18 1
	Advertising Fund—		
	As at 31st December, 1949	66 16 0	
67	*Less* Expended during year	38 17 5	
			27 18 7
67	Jubilee Fund		76 15 6
	Walter Dexter Memorial Fund—		
	As at 31st December, 1949	6 18 11	
	Less Paid during year	6 18 11	
7	Profit on Sale of Badges	4 0 3	
			4 0 3
184	Unexpired Balance of Receipts for Charitable Purposes		65 15 3
	Income and Expenditure Account—		
	Balance at 31st December, 1949	885 10 5	
	Add Excess of Income over Expenditure for year	78 17 2	
		964 7 7	
886	*Less* Loss on *The Dickensian*	139 7 8	
			824 19 11
£2809			£2549 12 7

1949.	ASSETS.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
	Life Membership Fund Investment, at cost—		
575	£549 16*s.* 1*d.* 4% Consolidated Stock		574 17 3
	(Market Value 31st December, 1950, £560 16*s.*)		
	Investment of Special Donation, at cost—		
105	£118 5*s.* 10*d.* 4% Consolidated Stock		105 0 0
	(Market Value, 31st December, 1950, £120 13*s.* 2*d.*)		
	Library, Pictures and Furniture (including items exhibited in The Dickens House Museum and Library)—		
	As at 31st December, 1950	19 5 0	
	Addition during year	17 15 0	
		37 0 0	
19	*Less* Depreciation	3 14 0	
			33 6 0
	The Tyrrell Collection of Photographic Negatives, at cost		75 0 0
	Costume Department—		
100	Costumes at Nominal Value	100 0 0	
88	Cash in Hands of Assistant Secretary as at 31st December, 1950	67 13 1	
		167 13 1	
	Less Sundry Creditors	25 15 0	
			141 18 1
	The Dickens House—		
550	Loan Account	550 0 0	
10	*Add* Interest accrued thereon	10 0 0	
210	Current Account	428 9 0	
			988 9 0
	The Dickensian—		
	Current Account	216 0 1	
135	*Less* Loss for the year	139 7 8	
			76 12 5
9	Stock of Badges on hand		11 1 10
33	Amounts Paid in Advance		22 0 9
	Balance at Bankers	522 3 10	
900	*Less* Petty Cash overdrawn	0 16 7	
			521 7 3
£2809			£2549 12 7

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and vouchers of The Dickens Fellowship and certify the same to be in accordance therewith.
We have also verified the Investments.

3 York Street, Manchester 2.
2nd April, 1951.

(*Signed*) MORRIS, GREGORY & CO.,
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Further particulars of the Festival may be obtained from Miss Gladys Waterer, acting Hon. Sec., Broadstairs Branch, Dickens Fellowship, Dickens House, Broadstairs.

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